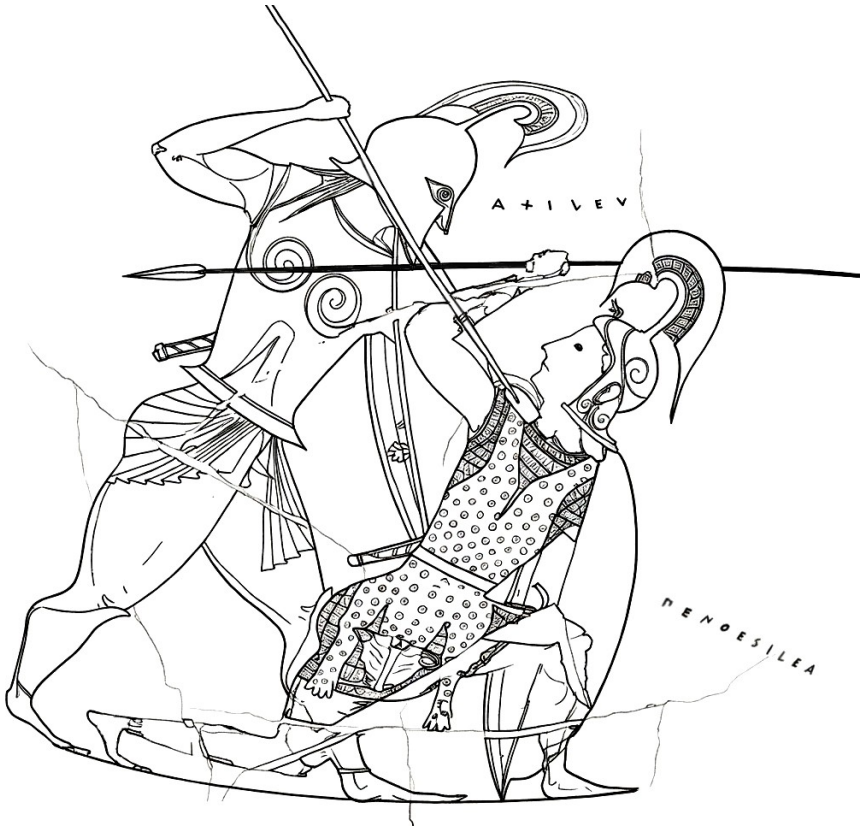
The Trojan Epic Cycle

Summaries constructed from ancient sources



Edited with introductions by Joseon2

(2026)

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Introduction

The Epic Cycle

Between the 8th and 6th centuries BC, the story of the Trojan War was told in a series of epics. Readers interested in Greek mythology will know the outline: a prince of Troy named Paris (or Alexander) runs off with Helen, the wife of the Greek king Menelaos, and takes her to his home city; the Greeks chase them to Troy and besiege it, then during the siege their main hero Achilles kills the Trojan hero Hektor, and later Achilles is killed by an arrow to the ankle; the Greeks eventually enter the city using a wooden horse with soldiers hidden inside, they sack the city and sail away, but Odysseus in particular has a long and arduous journey home.

The most famous of these epics by far are the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, in ancient times attributed to a poet named Homer, and dated to the 8th or 7th century BC.[1] It is debated whether both epics were really composed by the same author, or if it even makes sense to talk about authors rather than oral traditions and editors.[2] In any case, the two 'Homeric' epics don't tell the whole story, and first-time readers are often surprised to learn that the *Iliad* begins in the final year of the war and ends before Achilles dies or the wooden horse appears, while the *Odyssey* is only focused on Odysseus' return. The rest of the story must have existed before 'Homer' because the two epics call back to previous events and predict future ones, which they assume their audience are aware of. For example, the *Iliad* calls back to Paris' abduction of Helen and predicts the death of Achilles, while the *Odyssey* refers back to the episode of the wooden horse and predicts a further journey of Odysseus to appease Poseidon. There would already have been oral prose tales, poems, and songs which told parts of the broader story that existed in the cultural matrix of archaic Greece, and there likely many variants.[3] The parts of the story not covered by 'Homer' were also set down in epics, and there is debate over the extent to which they arose independently in this oral culture and how much they were influenced by the Homeric epics. There are signs they mostly appeared after the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, at least in the forms our ancient sources knew them in (see the introductions to each epic).

These later epic authors came to be called the 'cyclic writers' because their works were collected with Homer's to make a cycle covering the entire Trojan War, its origins, and its aftermath. There was also a larger epic cycle which began with the creation of the cosmos

1. Altschuler, *et* al. (2013); Heubeck, *et al.* (1988: I.33-35); Kirk, *et al.* (1985: I.1-16); West (1995)
2. Kirk, *et al.* (*ibid*); Heubeck, *et al.* (1988: I.3-14)
3. Fantuzzi and Tsagalis (2015: 78-97)

and ended with the Troy epics; it is unknown if this is the origin of the Trojan epics being collected or if they were first done so separately. In either case, it would have been a somewhat artificial collection, probably conceived of in the late classical or Hellenistic eras (4th to 1st centuries BC), long after the epics had begun circulating, and there may well have been more Troy epics which weren't selected.[1] In all, eight were counted as making up the epic Trojan cycle, covering the following events:

The Cypria
The origins of the war, the Greek expedition to Troy, and the first nine years of the siege

The Iliad
The rage of Achilles, at first against Agamemnon and then more fatally against Hektor

The Aethiopis
The Greeks battle the Amazon and Ethiopian allies of Troy, and the death of Achilles

The Little Iliad
The madness of Aias, preparations to enter Troy, the wooden horse, and the sack of the city

The Sack of Troy
A different account of the wooden horse and the sack

The Returns
The return journeys of the Greeks, particularly Agamemnon and Menelaos

The Odyssey
Odysseus' return, his many escapades on the way, and the killing of his wife's suitors

The Telegony
The travels of Odysseus after his return, and his death at the hand of his unknown son

Only the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* survive of this epic cycle. The other epics' popularity was either never as high, or quickly waned. While the two epics of 'Homer' were always recited at the Athenian Panathenaia festival beginning in the 6th century BC, the cyclic epics were phased out, if they were ever recited there at all.[2] As well as being less popular, these epics came to be considered literarily inferior to 'Homer' at least as early as Aristotle in the 4th century BC, who criticised them for formulaically recounting the events in their chosen section of the myth, rather than creating unified pieces of drama.[3] The scholar Proclus said that the poems of the cycle were read not so much for their quality as for the mythical narratives

1. Fantuzzi and Tsagalis (2015: 101-106)
2. Fantuzzi and Tsagalis (2015: 62)
3. Aristotle, *Poetics* 1459a28-b7

they contained.[1] The last time a writer claims to have read any of the cyclic epics himself is Pausanias in the 2nd century AD (*Description of Greece* 10.31.2), and it's possible they were read by Athenaeus when he was active around 200 AD, as his long dialogue *Philosophers at Dinner* quotes them several times. After the time of Pausanias and Athenaeus these epics stopped being read altogether. One late antique author suggests they were superseded as a source of mythology by the early 3rd century AD epic *Heroic Marriages of the Gods*, and were thus neglected and lost; this later epic itself was lost, depriving us of even the epic cycle's replacement.[2] Some scholars propose that the epics were lost even earlier, and that most of the surviving references to them were already relying on summaries and extracts. In any case, we know these epics existed because ancient authors referred to them by name, sometimes summarising them or pieces of them, and occasionally quoting from them directly. So, we know they were written in Homeric meter, and we can recover the outlines of their stories, even if the finer details are gone.

Recovering the Plot of the Epics

One of the most important sources we have is the *Chrestomathy* ("Anthology") of Proclus, a scholar of possibly the 2nd or 5th century AD, which contained plot summaries of the entire epic cycle.[3] This book itself is lost, but its summaries of the Trojan epics survive as extracts, as well as a review of it by the Byzantine bishop Photius. Alongside Proclus, we have scattered references and quotes from a wide array of authors, who sometimes quote a line as a pithy proverb, or a reference for an obscure word, but most commonly they mined the epics for mythological information. The summaries and quotations that survive have been collected in editions and translations such as Evelyn-White (1914) and West (2003). Because of the incomplete nature of what survives, there has been a great deal of scholarly work to fit the pieces together and place them in their cultural context. Two very useful studies on the epics are West (2013) and Fantuzzi and Tsagalis (2015) which have been used throughout this work for the reconstruction and notes.

The following reconstructions use sources which explicitly say their information comes from the cyclic epics, or have good reason to be traced back to them. For example, the quotations about Aphrodite's appearance in part D of the *Cypria* reconstruction are from Athenaeus who introduces them by saying "The author of the *Cypria*, whether Hegesias or Stasinus, mentions flowers used for garlands. The poet, whoever he was, writes as follows in his first book ..." (*Philosophers at Dinner* 682d). Another highly useful source is the *Library* of Apollodorus, although it must be used with caution. Apollodorus concisely retells all the major Greek myths, including the Trojan war, and we know he used the epic cycle to

1. Photius, *Library* 239.319a.30-32
2. Fantuzzi and Tsagalis (2015: 604-605); James (2007: xix-xx)
3. Photius, *Library* 239.319a20-29

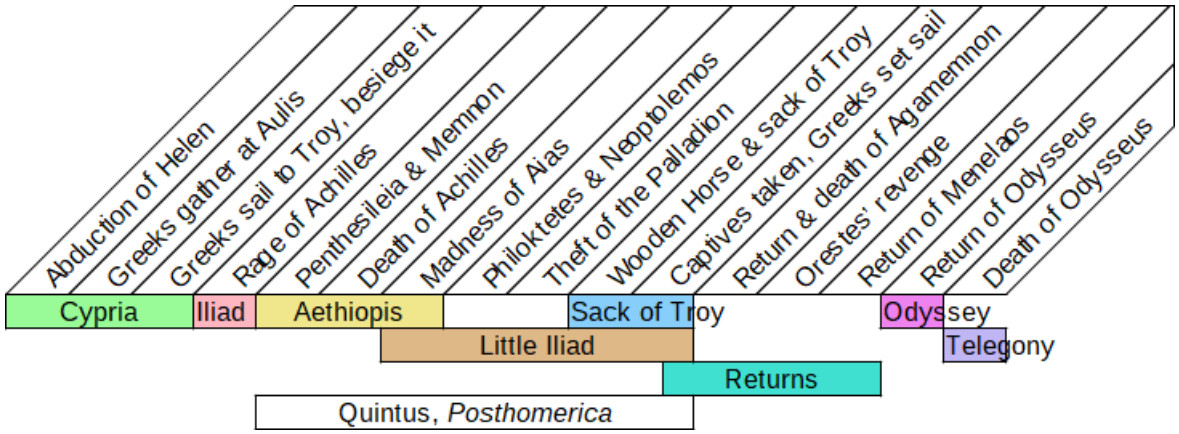
inform his retellings because he directly references the *Little Iliad* and the *Returns* (E.5.14, 2.1.5), although he might have used pre-existing summaries of them. Unfortunately, Apollodorus also used later sources such as tragedies, so he can't be entirely relied on. When Proclus or the other sources are so brief that they are unsatisfying to read, Apollodorus is used to expand on them, but only if he is clearly describing the same events. For example, Proclus' account of the Greeks landing at Troy is so condensed that it isn't obvious how the events follow one another. Apollodorus has a fuller description which makes things clearer:

Proclus	*Apollodorus*
Then the Greeks try to land at Ilion, but the Trojans prevent them, and Protesilaos is killed by Hektor.	Being alerted of the hostile approach of the fleet, the barbarians marched in arms to the sea, and endeavoured by throwing stones to prevent the landing. Of the Greeks the first to land from his ship was Protesilaos, and having slain not a few of the barbarians, he fell by the hand of Hektor.

Sometimes, sources describe events which are plausibly from the cycle but can't be attributed with certainty. These are marked with <angle brackets>. For example, Helen abandoning her daughter Hermione in Sparta is mentioned by Apollodorus but not by Proclus, yet it was likely included in the *Cypria* because it is also found in the *Iliad* 3.175 and *Odyssey* 4.262-3, and the cyclic epics often align with the events found in 'Homer'.

These plot outlines and fragments have been assembled here in their chronological order, often stitched together, and retaining their original wordings as far as possible to minimise conjecture. The aim is to create a full compilation of the surviving fragments in a form that can be read as a continuous story. This is not a retelling or anthology of later material, as is D.M. Smith's misleadingly titled *The Cypria: Reconstructing the Lost Prequel to Homer's Iliad*, which is in fact a compilation of extracts from post-epic versions, some of them quite late.

Timeline and Later Retellings



Some of the epics overlapped in the events they covered, as shown in the chart above (with the late Roman epic *Posthomerica* for comparison). While the cycle was valued for covering the entire story, individual episodes continued to be retold and referenced in the lyric poetry, tragedies, and mythographic works of the late archaic and classical periods (6th to 4th centuries BC).[1] Retellings of selected parts, as well as condensed overviews, were also found in the poetry and scholarship of the Hellenistic era (323 to 30 BC).[2] But only in the Roman imperial era (27 BC to 476 AD) do we again find surviving epic treatments. A notable example is Virgil's 1st century BC Latin epic, the *Aeneid*, which recounts the sack of Troy from the Trojans' perspective in book 2, but otherwise followed Aineias' own journey and settlement in Italy, which were not part of the cycle. The surviving epic most similar to the cycle is, oddly, one of the latest, the *Posthomerica* by Quintus of Smyrna. Written in Greek in the 3rd or 4th century AD, it resembles descriptions of the cycle as it covers a long series of chronological events in standard epic style. Quintus' epic was likely written after the cyclics were lost, in fact it seems tailor-made to fill the gap left between the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, and differs from the cycle's story at several points.[3] The Roman era was also host to further mythographical summaries, like those of Proclus and Apollodorus, as well as novelistic prose retellings, with the latter often creatively contradicting the traditional versions. Latin translations of these novellas (and some other Latin works) became the main sources for the Trojan story in medieval western Europe when Greek scholarship died out there.[4]

1. Fantuzzi and Tsagalis (2015: 430-486)
2. Fantuzzi and Tsagalis (2015: 487-490)
3. James (2007: xix-xxii)
4. Frazer (1966: 3-5); Kennedy (1998: 9, 13)

Note on Translations and Names

Public domain translations have been used so that this document can be freely shared. The lettered sections and titles (e.g. ‘A. The Plan of Zeus’) have been added for ease of reading and are not from the sources or any academic edition. The names of characters and places have been standardised by using transliterations of the Greek names, unless the Latinised/Anglicised name is so common that it would be confusing, e.g. Cyprus, not Kypros; Alexander, not Alexandros. The two sides in the war are referred to by several names, the Greeks are also called the Achaians or Danaäns, while Troy is also called Ilion (hence the *Iliad*) and the area around Troy is called Dardania. The region around Sparta, the kingdom of Menelaos, is called Lakedaimon. If this is your first time reading, the glossary of names at the end will be essential to follow the large cast of characters.

Map

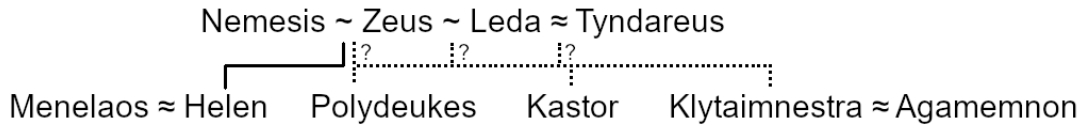
THRACE
Kikones
MOLOSSIANS
EPIRUS
THESPROTIS
THESSALY
Lemnos
DARDANIA
Troy
Scamander r.
Tenedos
Mt. Ida
Thebe
Lyrnessos
THE LAND OF THE AMAZONS
Lesbos
MYSIA
TEUTHRANIA
Skyros
PHTHIA
Ithaka
Delphi
PHOKIS
EUBOEA
Aulis
Thebes
Athens
ATTIKA
Kapherides
Colophon
ELIS
Mycenae
Argos
Gyraean Rocks
PELOPONNESE
LAKEDAIMON
Sparta
Delos
LYKIA
0
100 Miles
0
100 Kilometers
CRETE
CYPRUS

Family Trees

≈ marriage

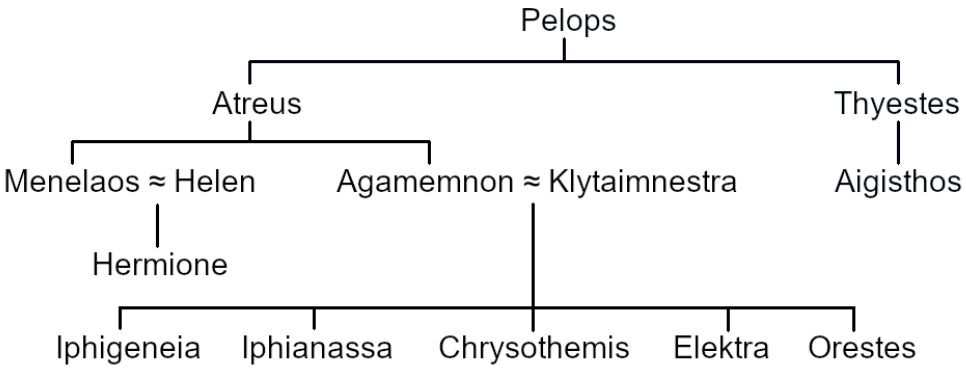
~ intercourse

Helen and her siblings

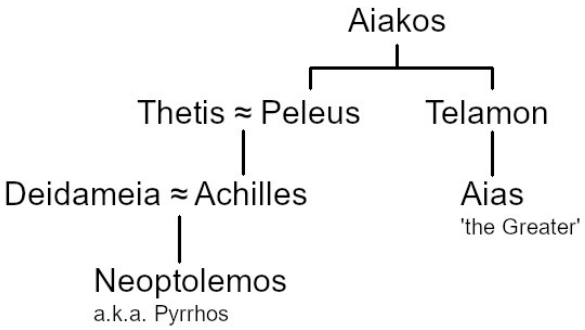


(The fragments are not clear on the parentage of Helen's siblings. Other versions vary.)

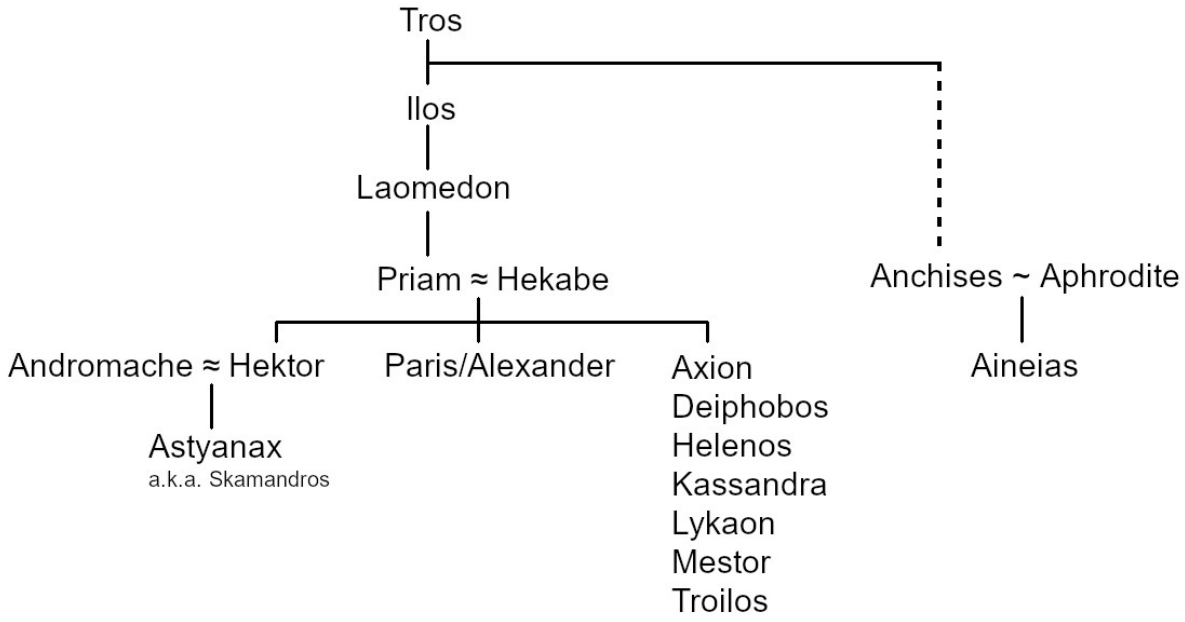
Menelaos and Agamemnon



Achilles and Aias the Greater



The Trojan royal family



Formatting and Abbreviations

<abc> – Uncertain if this belongs to the epics
[abc] – Text not in the sources, added for clarity
[...] – Content missing from the sources
“abc” – a direct quotation from the epics

§# W – section of Proclus’ summary in the edition of M.L. West (2003)
F# W – fragment No. in the edition of M.L. West (2003)
F# E – fragment No. in the edition of Evelyn-White (1914) when it is not in West (2003)

cf. – compare to...
ff – the following lines or sections
ibid – the previously cited text
cn. – century

I. The Cypria

Introduction

The title *Cypria* means "(the epic) of Cyprus", a name which must refer to its place of composition rather than the contents of the poem, which barely mentions Cyprus (if at all). Accordingly, several ancient authors attribute it to a Cypriot poet named Stasinus or Hegesias. There was also a tradition that it was written by Homer, no doubt because of its subject matter, which prompted a strained explanation that Homer originally wrote it but gifted it to the Cypriot poet as a dowry. A later tradition says it was by a poet named Cyprias from Halicarnassus, most likely a Halicarnassian invention to claim it for local pride. Around 50 lines of the original *Cypria* survive in quotations, more than for the rest of the Trojan cycle combined. Although these account for only a tiny fraction of the epic, they show that there was relatively high interest in its content compared to the other cyclic poems. This is probably because of its encyclopedic nature; it covered all the mythology from the genesis of the war to the first nine years of the siege of Troy, leading directly into the *Iliad*. In fact Aristotle unfavourably compared its multitude of episodes to the tighter focus of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey.* Because of this, a common hypothesis is that it was deliberately written as a cyclic poem to set up the *Iliad*, and indeed Proclus' summary of it was used as a prologue in several *Iliad* manuscripts. However, a minority of scholars see it as an independent poem that may have originally covered the entire Trojan war. The earliest attestations in the 5th century BC indicate it was a well-known poem and there was already dispute over its authorship, it also appears to rely on the *Iliad* (8th or 7th century BC), suggesting a date in the 7th or 6th century BC, supported by linguistic analyses. However, much of the mythological source material likely pre-dated the *Iliad*.[1]

The *Cypria* opens by explaining Zeus' motivation for starting the war, something possibly alluded to (but not explained) in the *Iliad* 1.5. The Earth (Gaia) is burdened by the weight of mankind so Zeus sets up the war to thin out the population, a motif with parallels in ancient near eastern myth.[2] The epic goes on to relate the birth of Helen, which may have been in a flashback or character dialogue to introduce her during the Judgement of Paris. That judgement is introduced in the manner familiar from later sources: the gods gather at the wedding of the future parents of Achilles, and a beauty contest breaks out between three goddesses, which Zeus decides should be judged by the Trojan prince Paris (a.k.a Alexander); Paris picks the goddess Aphrodite because she bribes him with the promise of

1. Davies (1989: 2-3, 32); Fantuzzi and Tsagalis (2015: 281-285); West (2013: 55-65).

2. E.g. the Babylonian epic *Atrahasis* 1.352-6. Other Greek versions said Zeus' motivation was to punish the impiety of men (e.g. Hesiod, *Catalogue* fragment 204[155].95-109 M-W [Most]), or that he wanted to glorify the generation of heroes or his daughter Helen (Apollodorus, *Library* E.3.1).

marriage to Helen. The problem is that Helen is already married to the Greek king Menelaos, and the war is set in motion by Paris running off with her. The *Cypria* poet was fond of mythological asides, so after Helen's abduction by Paris it tells the story of her brothers ascending to godhood although it is not strictly connected to the main story. The poem also has the Greek elder, Nestor, relate three myths in succession to Menelaos, which are only vaguely related to the predicament of his runaway wife. The epic then describes the Greek heroes gathering for war against Troy; their first expedition ends in a farce when the heroes don't know the way to Troy and attack the wrong city. Their mistake turns out to provides its own solution, as the king of the unfortunate city follows them to Greece and tells them he will show the way to Troy if they heal the wound Achilles inflicted on him. Finally arriving at Troy, the Greeks battle to establish a beach head, and then fail to retrieve Helen by negotiation. The blame appears to have been put on the Trojans for rejecting and threatening the Greek envoys. Then we have scattered information about the Greeks raiding the cities surrounding Troy, which would have been a fuller narrative in the original poem, motivated by the Greeks' inability to take the city by storm. Overall, the *Cypria*'s content borders on the whimsical, quite differently to the grittier *Iliad*.

I. The Cypria

Attribution

The *Cypria* had eleven books and was attributed to Stasinus of Cyprus, Hegesias of Salamis, Cyprias of Halicarnassus, Homer, or an anonymous author.[1]

A. The Plan of Zeus

> *i.* "There was a time when the countless tribes of men, though wide-dispersed, oppressed the surface of the deep-bosomed earth, and Zeus saw it and had pity and in his wise heart resolved to relieve the all-nurturing earth of men by causing the great struggle of the Ilian war, that the load of death might empty the world. And so the heroes were slain in Troy, and the plan of Zeus came to pass."

ii. <Zeus brought about the Trojan War, with Momos as his advisor. Seeing that he was capable of destroying everyone with thunderbolts or floods, Momos prevented this, and proposed two ideas to him, the marriage of Thetis to a mortal and the birth of a beautiful daughter [Helen].>[2] Zeus then planned with Themis to bring about the Trojan war.

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i. Scholiast D on *Iliad* 1.5 (F1 W)
ii. Scholiast D on *Iliad* 1.5 (F1 W); Proclus, *Chrestomathy* (§1 W)

B. The Birth of Helen

> *i.* "[...] and after them she bare a third child,[3] Helen, a marvel to men. Rich-tressed Nemesis once gave her birth when she had been joined in love with Zeus, the king of the gods, by harsh violence. For Nemesis tried to escape him and liked not to lie in love with her father Zeus the son of Kronos; for shame and indignation vexed her heart: therefore she fled him over the land and fruitless dark water. But Zeus ever pursued and longed in his heart to catch her. Now she took the form of a fish and sped over the waves of the loud-roaring sea, and now over Ocean's stream and the furthest bounds of Earth, and now she sped over the furrowed land, always turning into such dread creatures as the dry land nurtures, that she might escape him."

ii. <Nemesis, flying from the arms of Zeus, changed herself into a goose.> Zeus chased Nemesis, after also transforming himself into a goose, and when he had coupled with her she laid an egg, from which Helen was born. <A certain shepherd found it in the groves and

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1. Proclus, *Chrestomathy* (*Cypria* pref. W); Photius, *Library* 239.319a34; Athenaeus, *Philosophers at Dinner* 334b, 682d; Scholiast D on *Iliad* 1.5; Halicarnassus inscription (*Steinepigramme aus dem griechischen Osten* 01/12/02 Merkelbach-Stauber); Herodotus, *Histories* 2.117; Aelian, *Historical Miscellany* 9.15.

2. Some scholars view this bracketed section from the Scholiast as an alternate version of the myth, not a part of the *Cypria*. Momos isn't mentioned in Proclus' summary.

3. To fulfill his plan, Zeus begets Helen on Nemesis, the goddess of retribution. Helen was born third after her two brothers, Kastor and Polydeukes (the Dioskouroi), but it is not clear who is the 'bearer' here: is it Nemesis, Leda (as adoptive mother), or even Zeus (as father)? The siblings' parentage varied between versions, usually Leda was the mother of Kastor and Polydeukes, their sister Klytaimnestra, and sometimes of Helen as well (e.g. *Odyssey* 11.298-300; Euripides, *Helen* 254-9, 1497, 1680; Erastothenes, *Constellations* 25; Hyginus, *Poetic Astronomy* 2.8; Hyginus, *Fabulae* 77). See also *Cypria* part F.

brought and gave it to Leda; and she put it in a chest and kept it; and when Helen was hatched in due time, Leda brought her up as her own daughter.>[1]

iii. <Later, Helen was kidnapped by Theseus. Because of that abduction, Aphidna, a city in Attika, was destroyed [by Kastor and Polydeukes] and they carried away Helen. Kastor was wounded in his right thigh by Phidnos, the king of Aphidna at that time. When the Dioskouroi did not find Theseus, they plundered Athens.>[2]

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i. Athenaeus, *Philosophers at Dinner* 334b (F10 W)
ii. Apollodorus, *Library* 3.10.7; Philodemus, *On Piety* B 7369 Obbink (F11 W)
iii. Scholiast D on *Iliad* 3.242 (F12* W); Apollodorus, *Library* E.1.23

C. The Marriage of Peleus and Thetis

Thetis, to please Hera, avoided union with Zeus, at which he was enraged and swore that she should be the wife of a mortal. [...][3]. At the marriage of Peleus and Thetis, the gods gathered together on Mount Pelion to feast and brought Peleus gifts. Cheiron gave him a stout ashen shaft which he had cut for a spear, which Athene polished, and Hephaistos fitted with a head. With this spear Peleus was supreme in battle, and afterwards his son [Achilles]. <And Poseidon gave him horses, Balios and Xanthos, and these were immortal.>

Philodemus, *On Piety* B 7241 Obbink (F2 W); Scholiast D on *Iliad* 16.140 (F4 W); Apollodorus, *Library* 3.13.5

D. The Judgement of Paris/Alexander

i. Eris arrived while the gods were feasting at the marriage of Peleus and started a dispute between Hera, Athene, and Aphrodite as to which of them is fairest [...][4]. Zeus commanded Hermes to lead them to Alexander on Ida in order to be judged by him.

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1. The bracketed text is from Apollodorus because Leda's adoption of Helen is not in Proclus' summary. Other versions of the birth of Helen and her brothers (Kastor and Polydeukes) are variable, so it is uncertain if Apollodorus is following the *Cypria* here.

2. The source for this passage says it is found in the 'cyclic writers,' and chronologically it would fit here in the *Cypria*. The full story is that Theseus, king of Athens, and his friend Peirithous had both agreed to marry daughters of Zeus, so they kidnapped Helen for Theseus to marry. Then, while they ventured into the underworld to kidnap Hades' wife for Peirithous, Helen's brothers Kastor and Polydeukes rescued her from the city of Aphidna where she was being kept. In most versions they also captured Theseus' mother Aithra in revenge, who became Helen's handmaid and accompanied her to Troy (Diodorus Siculus, *Library of History* 4.63.3-5; Plutarch, *Theseus* 31-34; Apollodorus, *Library* 3.10.7, E.1.23).

3. In most versions, the mortal Peleus then abducted Thetis by keeping hold of her while she changed into various forms (e.g. Pindar, *Nemean* 3.35-6, 4.62–5; Sophocles, fragment 618; Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 11.221-265). But Apollonius Rhodius presents it as a happy engagement arranged by Hera (*Argonautica* 4.790-809). Zeus' anger in the *Cypria* suggests a forced marriage, and Thetis says as much in the *Iliad* 18.432-4 (see Scholiast T on the same [F3* W]).

4. It is unknown if the *Cypria* included the well-known version of Eris throwing a golden apple addressed 'to the fairest' between the goddesses; Proclus only says that Eris "starts a dispute". The golden apple is earliest found in sources of the 1st and 2nd centuries AD (Apollodorus, *Library* E.3.2; Papyrus Oxyrhynchus LVI 3829; Lucian, *Dialogues of the Gods* 20, *Dialogues of the Sea-Gods* 5; Hyginus, *Fabulae* 92).

ii. "She clothed herself with garments which the Graces and Seasons had made for her and dyed in flowers of spring—such flowers as the Seasons wear—in crocus and hyacinth and flourishing violet and the rose's lovely bloom, so sweet and delicious, and heavenly buds, the flowers of the narcissus and lily. In such perfumed garments is Aphrodite clothed at all seasons."

iii. "Then laughter-loving Aphrodite and her handmaidens wove sweet-smelling crowns of flowers of the earth and put them upon their heads—the bright-coiffed goddesses, the Nymphs and Graces, and golden Aphrodite too, while they sang sweetly on the mount of many-fountained Ida."

iv. <And they promised to give Alexander gifts. Hera said that if she were preferred to all women, she would give him dominion over all men; and Athene promised victory in war, and Aphrodite the hand of Helen.> Alexander, lured by his promised marriage with Helen, decided in favour of Aphrodite. On Aphrodite's instructions he had ships built for him <by the joiner Phereklos.> Helenos foretold the future to him, and Aphrodite ordered Aineias to sail with him, while Kassandra prophesied as to what would happen afterwards. So he sailed away <with Aphrodite> to Sparta.

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i. Proclus, *Chrestomathy* (§1 W); Apollodorus, *Library* E.3.2
ii-iii. Athenaeus, *Philosophers at Dinner* 682d-f (F5, F6 W)
iv. Apollodorus, *Library* E.3.2; Proclus, *Chrestomathy* (§1 W); Scholiast D on *Iliad* 3.443 (F8 W)

E. The Abduction of Helen

Alexander next landed in Lakedaimon and was entertained by the sons of Tyndareus [Kastor and Polydeukes], and afterwards by Menelaos in Sparta for nine days, where in the course of a feast he gave gifts to Helen. After this, on the tenth day, Menelaos set sail for Crete <to perform the funeral rites of his maternal grandfather Katreus>, ordering Helen to furnish the guests with all they required until they departed. Meanwhile, Aphrodite brought Helen and Alexander together and, after their union, Alexander persuaded Helen to go off with him. She <abandoned Hermione, then nine years old, and> put very great treasures on board and sailed away by night. Alexander reached Ilion with Helen in three days from Sparta, having had a fair wind and a smooth sea. [Another version says that] Hera stirred up a storm against them and they were carried to Sidon, where Alexander captured the city. From there he sailed to Troy and celebrated his marriage with Helen.[1]

Proclus, *Chrestomathy* (§2 W); Apollodorus, *Library* E.3.3-4; Herodotus, *History* 2.117 (F14 W)

1. The first version of Paris and Helen's voyage is from Herodotus while the second is from Proclus, both citing the *Cypria*. There must have been variant versions of the epic, and it's unknown which is more original here. Alexander's diversion to Sidon is alluded to in the *Iliad* 6.291 (Herodotus in fact comments that this doesn't align with the *Cypria*).

F. Kastor and Polydeukes

> *i.* "Kastor was mortal, and death was decreed to him by fate; but Polydeukes was immortal, being the progeny of Ares."

ii. In the meantime, Kastor and Polydeukes, while stealing the cattle of Idas and Lynkeus, were caught in the act, so they laid in wait for them.[1]

> *iii.* "Straightway Lynkeus, trusting in his swift feet, made for Taygetos. He climbed its highest peak and looked throughout the whole isle of Pelops son of Tantalos. And soon the glorious hero with his dread eyes saw horse-taming Kastor and prize-winning Polydeukes both hidden within a hollow oak. And brave Idas stood up close and stabbed the great oak,"

iv. Kastor had hidden in the oak and was seen by Lynkeus, who revealed his presence to Idas who killed him. Polydeukes then chased Lynkeus and Idas and killed them both. Because Polydeukes refused to accept immortality while his brother Kastor was dead, Zeus gave them immortality among the gods on alternating days.[2]

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i. Clement of Alexandria, *Exhortation to the Greeks* 2.30.5 (F9 W)
ii. Proclus, *Chrestomathy* (§3 W); Apollodorus, *Library* 3.11.2
iii. Scholiast on Pindar, *Nemean* 10.110 (F16 W); [cf. Philodemus, *On Piety* B 4833 Obbink (F17 W)]
iv. Scholiast on Pindar, *ibid* (F16 W); Apollodorus, *Library* 3.11.2; Proclus, *Chrestomathy* (§3 W)

G. The Greek Expedition is Assembled

i. Iris next informed Menelaos of what had happened at his home.[3] When he was aware of the abduction, he came to Agamemnon at Mycenae and planned an expedition against Ilion with his brother, begging him to muster an army against Troy and to raise levies in Greece. He then went on to Nestor who, in a digression, told him how Epopeus was utterly destroyed after seducing the daughter of Lykos, and the story of Oedipus, the madness of Herakles, and the story of Theseus and Ariadne.

> *ii.* "Menelaos, know that the gods made wine the best thing for mortal man to dispel cares."

1. Apollodorus says this cattle-stealing occurred after the four had raided the cattle together and then disputed over who should keep them. Other sources have their dispute caused by Kastor and Polydeukes abducting Hilareia and Phoibe (see Appendix).

2. In the *Iliad* 3.238-42, Helen remarks that her brothers hadn't come to Troy, so she assumes they are ashamed of her. The *Cypria* probably included this story of their divinisation to explain their absence from the war. Apollodorus says this caused Tyndareus (their father, the king of Sparta) to give his kingdom to Menelaos who was married to his adopted daughter Helen, because he was left without an heir.

3. Iris is a messenger goddess and servant of Hera, who is angry at Aphrodite's victory in the beauty contest and is ensuring the Trojans will be punished by the Greek invasion.

iii. Then they travelled over Greece and gathered the leaders, <reminding them of the oaths which they had sworn,[4] and warning them to look to the safety each of his own wife, saying that the affront had been offered equally to the whole of Greece.> But Odysseus, not wishing to go to the war, feigned madness. However, Palamedes son of Nauplios proved his madness to be fictitious: when Odysseus pretended to rave, at the suggestion of Palamedes they seized his son Telemachos from Penelope's lap for punishment. And in his fear for the child Odysseus confessed that his madness was pretended, and he went to the war.

iv. <Menelaos went with Odysseus and Talthybios to Kinyras in Cyprus and tried to persuade him to join the allies. He made a present of a breastplate to the absent Agamemnon, and swore he would send fifty ships, but he sent only one, commanded by the son of Mygdalion, and the rest he moulded out of clay and launched them in the sea.>[2]

v. [Achilles was also recruited ...][3]

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i. Proclus, *Chrestomathy* (§4 W); Apollodorus, *Library* E.3.6
ii. Athenaeus, *Philosophers at Dinner* 35c (F18 W)
iii. Proclus, *Chrestomathy* (§5 W); Apollodorus, *Library* E.3.7
iv. Apollodorus, *Library* E.3.9
v. [cf. *Iliad* 9.252-9, 11.765-91; Scholiast T on *Iliad* 9.668b; Scholiast D on *Iliad* 19.326; Apollodorus, *Library* 3.13.8]

H. The First Gathering at Aulis

All the leaders then met together at Aulis. After a sacrifice to Apollo, a serpent darted from the altar beside the neighbouring plane-tree, in which there was a nest; and having consumed the eight sparrows in the nest, together with the mother-bird, which made the ninth, it was turned to stone. Kalchas said that this sign was given them by the will of Zeus, and he inferred from what had happened that Troy was destined to be taken in a period of ten years. And they made ready to sail against Troy.[4]

Proclus, *Chrestomathy* (§6 W); Apollodorus, *Library* E.3.15-16

4. Although not mentioned by Proclus, it was an early and well-known part of the myth that the Greek heroes had competed for Helen's hand, swearing an oath that they would defend the marriage of whoever won her (Hesiod, *Catalogue* fragment 204[155].76-93 M-W [Most]; Euripides, *Iphigeneia in Aulis* 57ff; Thucydides, *Peloponnesian War* 1.9; etc.)

2. This is from Apollodorus but isn't mentioned by Proclus. If the author of the *Cypria* was from Cyprus, as tradition says, it's likely he included a recruitment story for the Cypriot hero Kinyras. The breastplate is mentioned in the *Iliad* 11.19-23.

3. Scholiast D on *Iliad* 19.326 and Apollodorus, *Library* 3.13.8 say that when Achilles was a boy his father (Peleus) or mother (Thetis) disguised him as a girl and hid him at Skyros to avoid the war. There he fathered a son with the girl Deidameia, and was discovered by Odysseus and Phoinix. This is attributed to 'the cyclic writers' by Scholiast D, but it seems to contradict Proclus' summary which has Achilles land at Skyros and marry Deidameia while returning from the first expedition to Troy (see part I). The *Iliad* 9.252-9, 11.765-91 has him recruited directly from his homeland of Phthia and sent away with his father's consent, which may have been followed by the *Cypria*.

4. Apollodorus here includes a catalogue of ships similar to the *Iliad* 2.494-759, and says that Agamemnon lead the Greek army while Achilles commanded the fleet, possibly elements from the *Cypria*.

I. The Greeks Raid Mysia and Return to Greece

i. But not knowing the course to steer for Troy, they put out to sea, and reached Teuthrania in Mysia and sacked it, taking it for Troy. Now Telephos son of Herakles was king of the Mysians, and seeing the country pillaged, he armed the Mysians and came out to the rescue. He chased the Greeks in a crowd to the ships and killed many, among them Thersandros son of Polyneikes, who had made a stand. But when Achilles rushed at him, Telephos did not withstand the onset and was pursued, and in the pursuit he was entangled in a vine's branch and wounded with a spear in the thigh.

ii. Departing from Mysia, the Greeks put to sea and, a violent storm coming on, they were separated from each other and landed in their own countries. Achilles first put in at Skyros and married Deidameia, the daughter of Lykomedes [...][1]. Lykomedes named Achilles' son Pyrrhos, but Phoinix gave him the name of Neoptolemos because Achilles was young (*neos*) when he first went to war (*polemein*).

iii. <"They sailed to Dolopian Skyros,">

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i. Apollodorus, *Library* E.3.17; Proclus, *Chrestomathy* (§7 W); [cf. Scholiast D on *Iliad* 1.59 (F1 W)]
ii. Apollodorus, *Library* E.3.18; Proclus, *ibid*; Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 10.26.4 (F19 W); [cf. Scholiast D on *Iliad* 19.326 (F19 W)]
iii. Scholiast T on *Iliad* 9.668b (Unplaced F17 W)

J. The Second Gathering at Aulis

i. So the Greeks returned at that time and came to Argos, <but they were in great perplexity about the voyage, because they had no leader who could show them the way to Troy.> Telephos, because his wound was unhealed, and an oracle from Apollo had told him that he would be cured when the one who wounded him became his healer, came from Mysia to Argos clad in rags, and begged the help of Achilles, promising to show the course to steer for Troy. Achilles healed Telephos <by scraping off the rust of his Pelian spear. Accordingly, on being healed, Telephos showed the course to steer, and the accuracy of his information was confirmed by Kalchas by means of his own art of divination.>

ii. But when they put to sea from Argos and mustered a second time at Aulis, Agamemnon, while at the hunt, shot a stag and boasted that he surpassed even Artemis. At this the goddess was so angry that she sent stormy winds and prevented them from sailing. The fleet was wind-bound and Kalchas then told them of the anger of the goddess and that they could not sail unless the fairest of Agamemnon's daughters, Iphigeneia, were presented as a sacrifice to Artemis (Agamemnon had four daughters, Iphigeneia, Iphianassa, [Chrysothemis and Elektra]). This they attempted to do, Agamemnon sent Odysseus and Talthybios to Klytaimnestra and asked for Iphigeneia, alleging a promise of his to marry her to Achilles in reward for his military service. So Klytaimnestra sent her, and Agamemnon set her beside the altar, and was about to slaughter her, when Artemis snatched her away and

1. Achilles probably fathered his son Pyrrhos/Neoptolemos with Deidameia at this point, but see note 4 on part G. The *Iliad* 9.666-9 says that he captured Skyros, and at 19.325-33 he mentions Neoptolemos living there.

transported her to the Taurians, making her immortal, and putting a stag in place of the girl upon the altar.

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i. Apollodorus, *Library* E.3.18-20; Proclus, *Chrestomathy* (§7 W)
ii. Apollodorus, *Library* E.3.21-22; Proclus, *Chrestom.* (§8 W); Scholiast on Sophocles, *Electra* 157 (F20 W)

K. The Greeks put in at Tenedos, Philoktetes left Behind

i. After putting to sea from Aulis they sailed as far as Tenedos. [...][1]. And while they were feasting, offering a sacrifice to Apollo, a water-snake approached from the altar and bit Philoktetes; and as the sore did not heal and grew noxious, the army could not endure the stench, and Odysseus, by the orders of Agamemnon, put him ashore on the island of Lemnos <with the bow of Herakles which he had in his possession; and there, by shooting birds with the bow, he subsisted in the wilderness.> Here, too, Achilles quarreled with Agamemnon because he was invited late.[2]

> *ii.* <"I never thought to enrage so terribly the stout heart of Achilles, for very well I loved him.">[3]

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i. Apollodorus, *Library* E.3.23, 27; Proclus, *Chrestomathy* (§9 W)
ii. Chrysippus, *On Negation* (Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta ii.57.11) (F21* W)

L. The Landing at Troy

i. Putting to sea from Tenedos they made sail and tried to land at Ilion. Being alerted of the hostile approach of the fleet, the Trojans marched in arms to the sea, and endeavoured by throwing stones to prevent the landing. Of the Greeks the first to land from his ship was Protesilaos, and having slain not a few of the barbarians, he fell by the hand of Hektor. The wife of Protesilaos was called Polydora who was the daughter of Meleager, the son of Oineus.[4] On the death of Protesilaos, Achilles landed with the Myrmidons and killed Kyknos the son of Poseidon <by throwing a stone at his head>. When the barbarians saw him dead, they fled to the city, and the Greeks, leaping from their ships, filled the plain with bodies.

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1. Apollodorus and Plutarch (*Greek Questions* 28) say the island was ruled by Tenes, who tried to keep the Greeks away by throwing stones, and was killed by Achilles, despite an oracle from Thetis saying Achilles would die at Troy if he did so. The *Iliad* 11.625 says Achilles sacked the island. Some sources have Tenes as the son of Kyknos, who fought on the side of the Trojans (see part L; Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 10.14.1-4; Apollodorus, *Library* E.3.23-26).

2. Achilles was not initially invited to the feast on Tenedos (Aristotle, *Rhetoric* 2.24).

3. Chrysippus attributes this line to Agamemnon. It is in Homeric meter but is not in the *Iliad* or *Odyssey*, so it is possibly from here in the *Cypria*, or it might be Agammenon reminiscing over the events of the *Iliad* in one of the following epics.

4. In other sources, she missed her husband so dearly that she created a statue of him to live with her. The gods took pity and allowed him to temporarily return to her. When he went back down to Hades, she was so distraught she committed suicide (Ovid, *Heroides* 18; Apollodorus, *Library* E.3.30; Hyginus, *Fabulae* 103). This may have been included in the *Cypria*.

ii. The Greeks took up their dead and sent Odysseus and Menelaos as envoys to the Trojans demanding the surrender of Helen and the treasure with her. <But the Trojans, having summoned an assembly, not only refused to restore Helen, but threatened to kill the envoys. These were, however, saved by Antenor.>[1] When they refused the demands, then they began a siege.

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i. Apollodorus, *Library* E.3.29-31; Proclus, *Chrestomathy* (§10 W); Pausanias, *Decription of Greece* 4.2.7 (F22 W)
ii. Proclus, *ibid*; Apollodorus, *Library* E.3.29

M. The First Nine Years of the War

i. The Greeks then went out and laid waste the country and cities round about. After this, Achilles desired to see Helen, and Aphrodite and Thetis contrived a meeting between them. The Achaians next desired to return home, but were restrained by Achilles.[2]

ii. <Agamemnon, when the Greeks were suffering from famine, sent for the Wine-Growers through Palamedes. These were the daughters of Anios, who were called Oino, Spermo, and Elais. They had received a gift from Dionysos, that whenever they wished, they could conjur food and drink. Oino made the wine, Spermo the grain, and Elais the oil. Anios persuaded the Greeks who came to him to stay with him for nine years, the gods having granted them to sack Troy in the tenth year. He promised them to be fed by his daughters. These women, coming to Troy, saved the Greeks who were starving.>[3]

iii. Achilles afterwards made his way to Ida to drive off the cattle of Aineias, who had Eurydike as his wife. But Aineias fled and Achilles killed the cowherds and Mestor son of Priam, and drove away the cattle.

iv. Achilles sacked Hypoplacian Thebe, Lyrnessos and Pedasos, and many of the neighbouring cities. When Chryseis had come to Thebe to join Iphinoe (the sister of Eëtion and daughter of Aktor) who was sacrificing to Artemis, she was captured by Achilles. And Achilles killed <the boy> Troilos <after pursuit on horseback>[4]. Then Patroklos carried away Lykaon to Lemnos and sold him as a slave. Out of the spoils Achilles received Briseis from the town of Pedasos as a prize, and Agamemnon received Chryseis from Thebe.

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1. Proclus only says that ‘envoys’ were sent. This version, in which they were Odysseus and Menelaos, is mentioned by the *Iliad* 3.205ff, 11.138ff, Apollodorus, and many others, although Apollodorus has it occur before the Greek landing.

2. Possibly due to suffering from famine, see the following paragraph. This foreshadows the *Iliad* 2.109-332, where Agamemnon tests the Greeks by telling them they are going home, and Odysseus has to persuade them to stay.

3. The famine may have been the Greeks’ motivation for wanting to return home. It is unclear what is meant by Anios persuading the Greeks stay with him for nine years. Other sources have the Greeks request Anios’ daughters before arriving at Troy (Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 13.650-74; Apollodorus, *Library* E.3.10; Servius on Virgil’s *Aeneid* 3.80; Dictys Cretensis 1.23). The source for this paragraph is the medieval scholar Tzetzes who cites Pherecydes, the *Cypria*, Callimachus, and Antigonus for the story; but he only knew of the *Cypria* second-hand, so it’s unclear how much of this is from the epic.

4. Scholiast A on *Iliad* 24.257b attributes these bracketed details to ‘post-Homeric writers,’ possibly the cyclic poets. Virgil, *Aeneid* 1.474ff also says Achilles pursued Troilos on horseback. The *Iliad* 24.257 only says that Troilos was a charioteer and had died.

v. Palamedes was drowned when he went out fishing, it was Diomedes and Odysseus who caused his death.[1]

vi. Zeus then planned to relieve the Trojans by detaching Achilles from the Greek confederacy.[2]

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i. Proclus, *Chrestomathy* (§11 W)
ii. Tzetzes, *On Lycophron* 570, 580, 581, 583 (F26+ W)
iii. Proclus, *ibid*; Apollodorus, *Library* E.3.32-33; Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 10.26.1 (F28 W)
iv. Proclus, *Chrestomathy* (§§11-12 W); Scholiast bT on *Iliad* 1.366c (F24 W); Scholiast A on *Iliad* 24.257b (F25* W); Scholiast T on *Iliad* 16.57b (F23 W)
v. Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 10.31.2 (F27 W)
vi. Proclus, *Chrestomathy* (§12 W)

N. The Trojan Allies

A catalogue of the Trojan allies: <from the surrounding cities, Aineias, son of Anchises, and with him Archelochos and Akamas, sons of Antenor, and Theano, leaders of the Dardanians; of the Thracians, Akamas, son of Eusoros; of the Kikones, Euphemos, son of Troizenos; of the Paionians, Pyraichmes; of the Paphlagonians, Pylaimenes, son of Bilsates; from Zelia, Pandaros, son of Lykaon; from Adrasteia, Adrastos and Amphios, sons of Merops; from Arisbe, Asios, son of Hyrtakos; from Larissa, Hippothoos, son of Pelasgos; from Mysia, Chromios and Ennomos, sons of Arsinoos; of the Alizones, Odios and Epistrophos, sons of Mekisteus; of the Phrygians, Phorkys and Askanios, sons of Aretaon; of the Maionians, Mesthles and Antiphos, sons of Talaimenes; of the Karians, Nastes and Amphimachos, sons of Nomion; of the Lykians, Sarpedon, son of Zeus, and Glaukos, son of Hippolochos.>

Proclus, *Chrestomathy* (§12 W); Apollodorus, *Library* E.3.34; [cf. *Iliad* 2.816-877]

1. Odysseus murders Palamedes as revenge for forcing him to join the war (see part F). Tragedies added the story that Palamedes' father sought revenge on the Greeks by causing them to shipwreck on their return from Troy, see the *Returns* introduction and notes to *Returns* parts C and F.

2. This directly sets up the *Iliad* in which Achilles sits out the fighting in protest at Agamemnon's seizing of Briseis from him.

Appendix: Fragments with Uncertain Placement or Attribution

"That it is Zeus who has done this, and brought all these things to pass, you do not like to say; for where fear is, there too is shame."
Plato, *Euthyphro* 12a, attribution from scholiast (F29 W)

"By him she conceived and bare the Gorgons, fearful monsters who lived in Sarpedon, a rocky island in deep-eddying Ocean."
Herodian, *On Peculiar Words* 9 (ii.914.15 L.) (F30 W)

Hilareia and Phoibe were daughters of Apollo[1]
Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 3.16.1 (F15 W)

<"He is a fool who kills the father and lets the children live.">[2]
Clement of Alexandria, *Miscellanies* 6.19.1 [6.2] (F31 W)

<"Her gleaming neck was encircled by a jewelled torque">[3]
Naevius(?), *Cypria Ilias* fragment 1 (F7* W)

<"He penetrated to the inner rooms and gained her bedroom.">[3]
Naevius(?), *Cypria Ilias* fragment 2 (F13* W)

<... the rise of the Trojan war from the twin eggs>[4]
Horace, *Ars Poetica* 147

1. Pausanias says this detail was in the *Cypria* but doesn't provide the context. In other versions of this myth, Hilareia and Phoibe were carried off by Kastor and Polydeukes and forcibly married to them. Sometimes this was mentioned as the cause of their dispute with Idas and Lynkeus (Theocritus, *Idylls* 22.137-180; Ovid, *Fasti* 5.700-720; Apollodorus, *Library* 3.11.2), see part F.

2. Clement attributes this line to 'Stasinus', presumably the Stasinus who wrote the *Cypria* (see Attribution). But some scholars suggest it was misattributed and in fact relates to Neoptolemos killing Astyanax in the *Little Iliad* (West 2013: 240).

3. These quotes are attributed to a Latin poem which might have been a translation of the *Cypria*. Possibly the first quote is describing Aphrodite's attire (see part D) and the second Paris' seduction of Helen (part E).

4. Horace here is criticising the cyclic poets for covering too much backstory; this quote refers to the tradition that Leda discovered, or laid, two eggs containing the Dioskouroi and Helen, possibly referencing the *Cypria* (see part B).

II. The Iliad

The *Iliad*, "(the epic) of Ilion", contains twenty-four books and was attributed to Homer. It is dated to the 8th or 7th century BC. This summary is included to provide a continuous story with the other epics, it is based on Apollodorus, *Library* E.4 with alterations to bring it closer to the *Iliad*. There are countless studies on this epic, an accessible one is Malcolm M. Willcock (1976) *A Companion to the Iliad*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

A. Achilles retires from the War, the armies battle (*Iliad* 1-7)

> "The wrath sing, goddess, of Peleus' son, Achilles, that destructive wrath which brought countless woes upon the Achaians ..."

Agamemnon returned Chryseis to her father Chryses the priest, in order to appease Apollo who was sowing disease among the Achaians, and he took Briseis from Achilles to replace his loss. And Achilles did not go forth to the war, because he was angry on account of Briseis being taken. Then the two armies assembled for battle but, having agreed a truce, Alexander fought a single combat with Menelaos; and when Menelaos got the best of him, Aphrodite carried him off to safety. And Pandaros, by shooting an arrow at Menelaos, broke the truce and battle resumed. Diomedes, doing valiant deeds, wounded Aphrodite when she came to the help of Aineias; and with the aid of Athene he wounded also Ares, who was urging on the Trojans. And encountering Glaukos, he recalled the friendship of their fathers and exchanged arms. And Hektor's wife Andromache pleaded with him not to go forth again to battle, but Hektor went out, and having challenged the bravest to single combat, many came forward, but the lot fell on Aias, and he did valiant deeds; but neither gaining the victory, and night coming on, the heralds parted them.

B. The Greek retreat and the Night Raid (*Iliad* 8-10)

Zeus forbade the other gods to intervene, and a battle took place in the plain, in which the Trojans chased the Greeks within the fortifications they had made to protect their anchorage. So the Greeks sent Odysseus, Phoinix, and Aias as ambassadors to Achilles, begging him to fight for them, promising Briseis and other gifts, but Achilles refused. And night coming on, they sent Odysseus and Diomedes out as spies; and these killed the Trojan spy Dolon son of Eumelos, and Rhesos the Thracian (who had arrived the day before as an ally of the Trojans, and having not yet engaged in the battle was encamped at some distance from the Trojan force and apart from Hektor); they also slew the twelve men that were sleeping around him, and drove the horses to the ships.

C. The Greek Wall is breached, the Death of Patroklos (*Iliad* 11-17)

But by day a fierce fight took place in which the Greeks were put to flight. In the ensuing battle, Agamemnon, Diomedes, Odysseus, Eurypylos, and Machaon were wounded and Hektor made a breach in the Greeks' wall and entered. But Poseidon rallied the Greeks and Hera distracted Zeus by laying with him and putting him to sleep, but when he awoke he

ended Poseidon's intervention, and Apollo aided the Trojans who gained the advantage and chased the Greeks back to their boats. And when Aias was forced to retreat, Hektor set fire to the ships. Patroklos begged Achilles to allow him to go forth to relieve the Greeks, and when Achilles saw the ship of Protesilaos burning, he sent him out with the Myrmidons, after arming him with his own arms and giving him the horses. Seeing him the Trojans at first thought he was Achilles and turned to flee. And having chased them to the city wall, he killed many, amongst them Sarpedon son of Zeus. But Apollo prevented Patroklos from entering Troy and stunned him, and he was killed by Hektor. And a fierce battle ensued over the corpse in which Aias, by performing deeds of valour, attempted to retrieve it.

D. Achilles returns to the War (*Iliad* 18-24)

Antilochos ran to the camp and told Achilles what had happened, while the Greeks succeeded in rescuing the body. Achilles, grieving and raging over Patroklos' death at the hands of Hektor, laid aside his anger at Agamemnon and recovered Briseis, and Thetis brought him a suit of armour from Hephaistos. Achilles, donning the armour, went forth to the war, and Zeus permitted the gods again to engage. Achilles chased the Trojans in a crowd to the river Skamander, and there slaughtered many, amongst them Lykaon who had returned to Troy, and Asteropaios son of Pelegon son of the river Axios. The river Skamander, in protest at being clogged with bodies, rushed at Achilles in fury. But Hephaistos forced back the streams of the river, boiling them with mighty flames. And the Trojans fled into the city, aside from Hektor who stood to face Achilles; but as Achilles approached, his courage failed him and he was pursued around the city, until Athene tricked him into the combat, and Achilles killed him with his spear. And, fastening his ankles to his chariot, Achilles dragged his body to the ships. And having buried Patroklos, he celebrated games in his honour, at which Diomedes was victorious in the chariot race, Epeios in boxing, and Aias and Odysseus drew in wrestling. After the games Priam came alone to Achilles, begging leave to ransom the body of Hektor, and Achilles was moved and agreed. And so the Trojans performed the funeral of Hektor.

III. The Aethiopis

Introduction

The title *Aethiopis*, "(the epic) of the Ethiopians," refers to the arrival of an army from Ethiopia to relieve the Trojans, lead by the hero Memnon. In the archaic Greek imagination, 'Ethiopia' was a vague term for far-away exotic realms, the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* say there are Ethiopians at both the eastern and western edges of the world. Its alternate title, *Amazonia*, likewise refers to an army of Amazons, lead by Penthesileia, who arrive earlier for the same purpose. The poem is usually attributed to Arctinus of Miletus, who is also the apparent author of the *Sack of Troy*; there is also an inevitable attribution to Homer based on nothing more than its poetic meter and subject matter. The successive introduction of two previously-unmentioned exotic armies seems contrived, but it is playing on the early motif of neighbouring kingdoms coming to Troy's aid (see the *Iliad* 2.819-877, 10.428-435; *Little Iliad* part C). Penthesileia is hypothesised to have had a stand-alone story that could have fit almost anywhere during the siege of Troy, before being included in the *Aethiopis*. Memnon, meanwhile, is set up as a worthy opponent of Achilles, both having a goddess mother and both carrying arms made by the smith god Hephaistos. Elements of the story must have been pre-Homeric because the *Odyssey* mentions Memnon and the competition between Odysseus and Aias over Achilles' armour, while the *Iliad* predicts Achilles' death by being shot at the gates of Troy. Also, several motifs in the *Iliad* foreshadow events covered by the *Aethiopis*, such as Patroklos' death and funeral which are very smilar to Achilles' and seem more appropriate for the more famous hero. But the poem itself appears to be a deliberate sequel to the *Iliad*, beginning exactly where it finishes, and Penthesileia and Memnon only appear in art after 600 BC, so it is usually dated to the late 7th century BC. Despite its popularity as a subject for visual art, fragments of the *Aethiopis* are few and far between, perhaps because its tight focus on battles, and subjects treated in later works (like the madness of Aias), made it uninteresting to ancient scholars.[1]

The *Aethiopis* appears to have been a well-structured epic, with heroic events leading up to the mid-point climax of Achilles' death and then descending into the tragic events of his funeral and its aftermath. It can be divided into several sections with overlapping dramatic arcs, perhaps aligning with its five books:

(1) The Greeks battle Penthesileia who is killed by Achilles.
(2) The Greeks battle Memnon and Achilles kills him also.
(3) Achilles routs the Trojans and chases them to the city, where he is killed.
(4) Aias and Odysseus rescue Achilles' body and his funeral is held.
(5) The two hold a competition for Achilles' armour; Aias loses and commits suicide

1. Davies (1989: 51); Fantuzzi and Tsagalis (2015: 306-308, 315-317); West (2013: 129-136)

(1) and (2) are linked by the theme of arriving Trojan allies, and they serve to portray Achilles as necessary for the Greeks' success on the battlefield; (2) directly leads into (3), with Achilles' martial prowess ironically leading to his death; (3) and (4) form the central drama of the death of Achilles and the focus transferring to the heroes who retrieve his corpse; finally (4) and (5) are the drama of Aias' and Odysseus' rivalry. Additionally, (1) and (5) serve as an opening heroic victory and a concluding tragedy, with (2) to (4) being the core story about Achilles.

III. The Aethiopis

Attribution

The *Aethiopis*, or *Amazonia*, contained five books and was attributed to Arctinus of Miletus or Homer.[1]

Connecting Lines from a Version of the Iliad

> <"Thus they performed the burial of Hektor. Then came the Amazon, the daughter of great-souled Ares the slayer of men.">[2]

Scholiast T on *Iliad* 24.804a (F1 W)

A. Penthesileia the Amazon

i. The Amazon Penthesileia, the daughter of Otrere and Ares, and of Thracian race, had accidentally killed [her sister] Hippolyte and was purified by Priam.[3]

> *ii.* <"[Who and whence are] you, woman, whose child do you claim to be?">

iii. She came to aid the Trojans, showing great prowess and slaying many, <amongst them Machaon>. She was afterwards herself killed by Achilles[4] and buried by the Trojans. Achilles then slew Thersites for abusing and insulting him for his supposed love for Penthesileia. As a result a dispute arose amongst the Achaians over the killing of Thersites, and Achilles sailed to Lesbos and, after sacrificing to Apollo, Artemis, and Leto, was purified from the bloodshed by Odysseus.

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i. Proclus, *Chrestomathy* (§1 W); Apollodorus, *Library* E.5.1
ii. Papyrus Oxyrhynchus XIII 1611 fragment 4 ii (F2 W)
iii. Proclus, *Chrestomathy* (§1 W); Apollodorus, *Library* E.5.1

B. Memnon and the Death of Achilles

i. Then Memnon, the son of Tithonos and Eos, wearing armour made by Hephaistos, came with a great force of Ethiopians to help the Trojans, and Thetis told her son [Achilles] about Memnon.[5] A battle took place in which many of the Greeks, including Antilochos, were

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1. Proclus, *Chrestomathy* (*Aethiopis* pref. W); *IG* 14.1284 i 10 – Tabula Iliaca A (Capitolina) p. 29 Sadurska; Eusebius, *Chronicle* Olympiad 1.2 (775/774), 5.1 (760/759); Hesychius of Miletus, *Life of Homer* 6

2. These lines were at the end of some copies of the *Iliad*, replacing the original "Thus they performed the burial of Hektor, breaker of horses." They may have been invented by a scribe or were perhaps adapted from the *Aethiopis* (cf. the manuscript ending of Hesiod's *Theogony* which leads into the *Catalogue of Women*).

3. According to Quintus Smyrnaeus, *Posthomerica* 1.23-25, she killed Hippolyte in a hunting accident. A hero needing to be ritually purified after murder or manslaughter was a common post-Homeric epic motif, Achilles will soon need it after killing Thersites.

4. Vase paintings from the 6th century BC onwards depict Penthesileia kneeling as Achilles spears her at close quarters (e.g. British Museum GR1836.2-24.127 [Vase B210]; see cover image). A Roman plaque, based on the epics, depicts Achilles attacking Penthesileia who is falling, possibly being dragged from her horse (Tabula Iliaca A [Capitolina]). Quintus, *Posthomerica* 1.612-21 has Achilles throw his spear to pierce her through the horse.

5. Thetis may have told a prophecy that Achilles would die if he fought Memnon.

slain by Memnon, and Memnon was himself slain by Achilles.[1] Eos then prevailed on Zeus and bestowed immortality upon her son.

ii. But Achilles routed the Trojans and, rushing into the city after them, was killed by Alexander and Apollo <at the Skaian gate, shot with an arrow in the ankle>. A great struggle for the body then followed, Aias <killed Glaukos, and gave the arms to be conveyed to the ships,> but the body he carried, in a shower of missiles, through the midst of the enemy to the ships, while Odysseus drove off the Trojans behind.

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i. Proclus, *Chrestomathy* (§2 W); Apollodorus, *Library* E.5.3
ii. Proclus, *Chrestomathy* (§3 W); Apollodorus, *Library* E.5.4; [cf. Scholiast A on *Iliad* 17.719 (F3 W)]

C. The Funeral of Achilles and Madness of Aias

i. The death of Achilles filled the army with dismay, they buried Antilochos and laid out the body of Achilles, while Thetis, arriving with the Muses and her sisters, bewailed her son, whom she afterwards caught away from the pyre and transported to the White Island. After this, the Achaians piled him a cairn and held games in his honour, at which Eumelos won the chariot-race, Diomedes the foot-race, Aias the quoit-match, and Teukros the competition in archery.

> *ii.* <"Iambos stood a little while astride with foot advanced, that so his strained limbs might get power and have a show of ready strength.">[2]

iii. Also, the arms of Achilles were offered as a prize to the bravest, and a dispute arose between Odysseus and Aias over them. Odysseus was preferred and, overcome by resentment, Aias <planned a nocturnal attack on the army. Athene drove him mad, and turned him, sword in hand, among the cattle, and in his frenzy he slaughtered the cattle with the herdsmen, taking them for the Achaians. But afterwards he came to his senses and> killed himself around dawn.[3]

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i. Apollodorus, *Library* E.5.5; Proclus, *Chrestomathy* (§4 W)
ii. Diomedes, *The Art of Grammar* 1.477.9 (F5 W)
iii. Proclus, *Chrestomathy* (§4 W); Apollodorus, *Library* E.5.6; Scholiast on Pindar, *Isthmean* 4.58b (F6 W)

1. Pindar, *Pythian* 6.28-39 says that when one of Nestor's horses had been struck by Paris' arrows and Memnon was advancing on him, he called for his son Antilochos, who died fighting Memnon to allow his father to escape. Artistic depictions show Achilles fighting Memnon next to the corpse of Antilochos, suggesting Achilles is avenging him (Tabula Iliaca A [Capitolina]; Rome, Mus. Naz. Etrusco di Villa Giulia M462), as in Quintus, *Posthomerica* 2.388-548.

2. Diomedes the Grammarian says this was a method of javelin-throwing, citing the poet Arctinus, the attributed author of the *Aethiopis* and *Sack of Troy.* A javelin throw may have been one of the funeral games.

3. Proclus only says that there was a dispute over the armour and leaves the suicide of Aias for his summary of the *Little Iliad*, but the Scholiast on Pindar says "The author of the *Aethiopis* says that Aias killed himself around dawn." The bracketed text is taken from Apollodorus to fill the gap.

IV. The Little Iliad

Introduction

The title *Mikra Ilias*, "The little (epic) of Ilion," refers to the poem's subject matter (Ilion, Troy), and to its brevity compared with Homer's more famous *Ilias or Iliad.* The most common authorial attribution is to a poet named Lesches from the island of Lesbos; however, the earliest attestations do not mention an author, and it is also attributed to a plethora of other poets, indicating it circulated anonymously early on. It was clearly not intended as a sequel to the *Aethiopis* because their contents overlap, both describing the madness of Aias, and it fully overlaps with (and sometimes contradicts) the *Sack of Troy*, apparently written by the same author as the *Aethiopis.* The poet begins his epic after the death of Achilles, perhaps to put the focus on Odysseus, who is pivotal to nearly every event in the story, and on Achilles' son Neoptolemos, who arrives to replace his father. It appears to have had an episodic structure, covering everything from the suicide of Aias up to the sack of Troy, reading as an almost arbitrary list of events and prophecy fulfillments until the wooden horse is used, and indeed other versions freely chopped and changed how these events proceeded. Scholars see this as a typical 'cyclic' approach, putting to verse everything that happened within a chosen timeframe to comprehensively tell the known story. Nevertheless, it has the unifying themes of ambush, trickery, betrayal, and night attacks, quite unlike the more heroic *Iliad* (with the exception of *Iliad* book 10, often thought to be a later addition). The earliest attestation is in the 5th century BC and it is thought to be later than the Iliad (8th to 7th century BC), so it is dated to the 7th or 6th century BC. At only four books in length according to Proclus (compared to the *Iliad*'s 24), it is surprising that such a short work would cover so much ground, it must have proceeded at a breakneck pace, or had unusually long books, or perhaps Proclus had a truncated version.[1]

The *Little Iliad* begins when the funeral games of Achilles have just concluded. Odysseus and Aias are competing for the honour of inheriting Achilles' armour, and Odysseus wins thanks to the strange tie-breaker of the Greeks overhearing a Trojan woman saying he was braver than Aias. In a raging madness over his loss, Aias sets out to massacre the Greeks but is prevented by Athene and commits suicide when discovered, which most versions set at night. This opening episode sets the tone for the rest of the epic: a combination of contrivances with underhanded plots and betrayals, often taking place in the dark. These trends continue with the Greeks' successful plot to kidnap the Trojan seer Helenos, who sells out his comrades by stringing off a list of prophecies to fulfill before Troy can be captured. The Greeks dutifully fulfill these, first by retrieving Philoktetes who they had abandoned on the way to Troy, and then by retrieving Achilles' son Neoptolemos from his

1. Davies (1989: 60-61); Fantuzzi and Tsagalis (2015: 318-329, 343); West (2013: 163-172).

the island of Skyros. These two retrieved heroes then have *Iliad*-style battles or duels with Paris and Eurypylos respectively. But even the conflict with Eurypylos features un-Iliadic plotting when Priam bribes Eurypylos' mother to let him join the war, an action which dooms him. More underhanded actions follow, likely all set at night, with Odysseus sneaking into Troy, first disguised as a beggar to gain information, and then a second time accompanied by Diomedes to steal a statue that was guarding the city (another of Helenos' prophecies). These roadblocks to Troy's capture finally out of the way, the ultimate night-time plot can now take place: the Trojan Horse. The *Little Iliad* follows the usual sequence of events, having the Trojans fooled by the horse and taking it into the city, dooming them to a brutal massacre. The epic ends with the Greeks sailing away with their Trojans captives, probably with a prediction that they will be hit by a storm for their crimes.

Attribution

The *Little Iliad* (*Mikra Ilias*), or *Lesser Iliad*, contained four books and was most commonly attributed to Lesches of Pyrrha/Mytilene/Lesbos, or alternatively to Thestorides of Phocaea, Cinaethon of Lacedaemon, Diodorus of Erythrae, or Homer.[1]

Overview

Whereas the *Iliad* or *Odyssey* supplies materials for only one, or at most two, tragedies ... the *Little Iliad* does for more than eight: the Adjudgment of Arms, Philoktetes, Neoptolemos, Eurypylos, Odysseus as Beggar, the Lakonian Women, the Fall of Ilion, and the Departure of the Fleet, and Sinon, and the Trojan Women.[2]

Aristotle, *Poetics* 1459a37-b7

A. The Awarding of Achilles' Armour

> *i.* "I sing of Ilion and Dardania, the land of fine horses, wherein the Danaäns, followers of Ares, suffered many things."

ii. Achilles' arms were offered as a prize to the bravest, and Aias and Odysseus came forward as competitors. They were quarrelling as to their achievements when Nestor advised the Greeks to send some of their number to go to the foot of the walls and overhear what was said about the valour of the heroes named above. The eavesdroppers heard certain girls disputing, one of them saying that Aias was by far a better man than Odysseus and continuing as follows: 'For Aias took up and carried out of the strife the hero, Peleus' son; this, great Odysseus cared not to do.' To this another replied, by Athene's contrivance, 'Why, what is this you say? A thing against reason and untrue! Even a woman could carry a load once a man had put it on her shoulder, but she could not fight.' And so Odysseus gained them by the contriving of Athene.

iii. Disordered by resentment, Aias planned a nocturnal attack on the army. And driven mad <by Athene>, he turned, sword in hand, among the the herd of the Achaians, and in his frenzy he slaughtered the cattle with the herdsmen, taking them for the Achaians. But afterwards he came to his senses and slew also himself. And Agamemnon forbade Aias to be cremated in the usual way, he was simply buried in a coffin because of the king's anger. <His grave was at Rhoiteion.>

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i. Pseudo-Herodotus, *Life of Homer* 16 (F1 W)

ii. Apollodorus, *Library* E.5.6; Aristophanes, *Knights* 1056-7 Scholiast on 1056a (F2 W); Proclus, *Chrestomathy* (§1 W)

iii. Apollodorus, *Library* E.5.6-7*;* Proclus, *ibid;* Porphyry, *Homeric Questions* (Paralip. fr. 4 Schräder) from Eustathius, *Commentary on the Iliad* 285.34 (F3 W)

1. Proclus, *Chrestomathy* (*Little Iliad* pref. W); Poculum Homericum *Megarisher Becker* 31 p. 97 Sinn; Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 10.25.15; *IG* 14.1284 i 10 = Tabula Iliaca A (Capitolina) p. 29 Sadurska; Eusebius, *Chronicle* Olympiad 30.3 (658/657); Scholiast on Euripides, *Trojan Women* 822; Pseudo-Herodotus, *Life of Homer* 16

2. This list of titles is often thought to be interpolated into Aristotle, but it is nevertheless a useful corroboration of the key dramatic episodes of the *Little Iliad*.

B. Philoktetes and the Death of Paris

Next, Odysseus lay in wait and caught Helenos, who prophesied as to the taking of Troy: <that Troy could not be taken unless they had the bow of Herakles to help them; next, if Neoptolemos fought for them; and third, if the Palladion, which had fallen from heaven, were stolen from Troy, for while it was within the walls the city could not be taken>.[1] On hearing this, Diomedes accordingly brought Philoktetes from Lemnos.[2] Philoktetes was healed by Machaon, fought in single combat with Alexander, and shot him dead; the corpse was mutilated by Menelaos, but the Trojans recovered it and gave it burial. After this Deiphobos married Helen.

Proclus, *Chrestomathy* (§2 W); Apollodorus, *Library* E.5.8-10

C. Neoptolemos and Eurypylos

> *i.* [...] "The storm carried Achilles the son of Peleus to Skyros, and he came into an uneasy harbour there in that same night.." [...][3]

ii. The Greeks sent Odysseus <and Phoinix> to Lykomedes at Skyros, and they persuaded him to let Neoptolemos go. On coming to the Greek camp he received his father's arms from Odysseus, who willingly resigned them, and the ghost of Achilles appeared to him.

> *iii.* [On Achilles' ash spear:] "About it a hoop of flashing gold, and a double spear-head fitted to it."

iv. Then Neoptolemos slew many of the Trojans. <Meanwhile, Eurypylos, son of Astyoche and Telephos, son of Herakles, ruled over his father's kingdom of Mysia. Priam, learning of his power, sent for him to become his ally. When he said that he could not do so because of his mother, Astyoche, Priam sent her a gift of a golden vine. When she received the vine, she sent her son to war.>[4]

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1. The Palladion was a wooden statue of Athene which protected the city, it had been sent to Priam's ancestor as a gift from Zeus. Proclus doesn't say what the prophecies were, but the subsequent actions of the Greeks in his summary reflect these prophecies from Apollodorus.

2. The Greeks had abandoned Philoktetes on Lemnos due to his festering wound (see *Cypria* part K). Philoktetes had the bow of Herakles, given as thanks for lighting his funeral pyre (Diodorus, *Library of History* 4.38.4), its significance was that Herakles had sacked Troy himself (*Iliad* 5.638-42). Apollodorus says Odysseus accompanied Diomedes and obtained the bow by a trick, which would fit the tone of the *Little Iliad* (cf. Sophocles, *Philoktetes*; Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 1.22.6).

3. This line must have been part of a character's explanation of how Achilles' son Neoptolemos came to be born on Skyros. According to the *Cypria* (part I), on the return of the first, failed, expedition to Troy, Achilles put in at Skyros and married Deidameia, daughter of the local king Lykomedes, and fathered Neoptolemos with her.

4. Although not explicitly found in the fragments, this explanation of Eurypylos' arrival was likely part of the *Little Iliad* because this vine is described in a quotation of the epic (paragraph *v.* here). The version used here comes from Acusilaus, a scholar of the 6th century BC, attesting to its antiquity. The *Odyssey* 11.521 may allude to this story when it says Eurypylos arrived and fought "because of womanish gifts".

v. "The vine that Zeus gave in compensation for his son; it was of gold, luxuriant with splendid foliage and grape clusters, which Hephaistos fashioned and gave to father Zeus, and he gave it to Laomedon in lieu of Ganymede."[5]

vi. So Eurypylos son of Telephos arrived to fight for the Trojans, bringing a great force of Mysians to join battle with the Achaians. He dominated the battlefield, and Machaon died at his hands, but he was slain by Neoptolemos.

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i. Scholiast T on *IIiad* 19.326 (F4 W); [cf. Scholiast T on *Iliad* 9.668b]
ii. Apollodorus, *Library* E.5.11; Proclus, *Chrestomathy* (§3 W)
iii. Scholiast T on *Iliad* 16.142; Scholiast on Pindar, *Nemean* 6.85b (F5 W)
iv. Apollodorus, *Library* E.5.11; Scholiast on *Odyssey* 11.520 = Acusilaus, *FGrHist* 2 F 41
v. Scholiast on Euripides, *Trojan Women* 822 (F6 W)
vi. Apollodorus, *Library* E.5.12; Poculum Homericum *Megarischer Becher* 31 p. 97 Sinn; Proclus, *Chrestomathy* (§3 W); Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 3.26.9 (F7 W)

D. The Wooden Horse constructed and Missions into Troy

i. The Trojans were now closely beseiged, and Epeios, by Athene's instruction, built the wooden horse. <He felled timber on Ida and constructed the horse with a hollow interior and an opening in the sides.>

ii. Odysseus disfigured himself by being wounded by Thoas, and he put on mean attire, Dektes was the name of the man from whom he borrowed the rags. He entered unknown into Ilion as a beggar, to spy. Being recognized by Helen, he plotted with her for the taking of the city, and after killing certain of the Trojans, he returned to the ships. Next, Odysseus went with Diomedes by night to the city, and carried the Palladion out of Troy with Diomedes' help.[2]

iii. <Diomedes and Odysseus were on their way back from Troy at night after stealing the Palladion, and Odysseus, who was behind Diomedes, intended to kill him [and take it]; but in the moonlight Diomedes saw the shadow of his sword, turned round, overpowered Odysseus, tied him up, and forced him to go ahead by beating his back with his sword.>[3]

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i. Proclus, *Chrestomathy* (§§3-4 W); Apollodorus, *Library* E.5.14
ii. Proclus, *Chrestomathy* (§4 W); Tzetzes, *On Lycophron* 780 (F8 W); Apollodorus, *Library* E.5.13; Scholiast on *Odyssey* 4.248 (F9 W)
iii. Pausanias, *Attic Words* δ 14; Hesychius, *Lexicon* δ 1881 (F11 W); [cf. Conon, *Narrations* 34 (Photius)]

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5. Priam inherited this golden vine from his father Laomedon, which Zeus had given as amends for taking his son Ganymede.

2. Tabula Iliaca A (Capitolina) depicts Diomedes holding the Palladion with Odysseus following, both exiting an archway, which is perhaps a sewer entrance as in Sophocles, *Lakonian Women* fragment 367 and Servius on Virgil, *Aeneid* 2.166. However, Conon, *Narrations* 34 and Quintus, *Posthomerica* 10.350-4 have Diomedes, or both of them, scale the city wall.

3. The usual interpretation is that Odysseus tried to take the Palladion from Diomedes to claim the glory. Conon adds that Odysseus was motivated by discovering that Diomedes lied to him about it being a fake Palladion. Hesychius says the *Little Iliad* connected the proverbial phrase "Diomedian Compulsion" with the theft of the Palladion, but doesn't explain the story. Pausanias and Conon both tell this story to explain the same phrase, but don't say if it's the *Little Iliad's* version.

E. The Wooden Horse brought into Troy

Then they put their thirteen best men in the wooden horse,[1] <after appointing Odysseus as their leader and engraving on it an inscription which read, 'For their return home, the Greeks dedicate this thanks-offering to Athene'>. Burning their huts and leaving Sinon behind, who was to light a beacon as a signal to them, the main body of the Greeks put to sea by night, to lay off Tenedos. And at break of day the Trojans, supposing their troubles over, took the wooden horse into their city by breaching a portion of the wall, and feasted as though they had conquered the Greeks.[2]

Proclus, *Chrestomathy* (§5 W); Apollodorus, *Library* E.5.14-16

F. The Night Battle in Troy

i. "It was midnight, and the clear moon was rising."

ii. Sinon, as it had been arranged with him, secretly showed a signal-light to the Greeks, <who drew near by sea from Tenedos. And when they thought that their foes were asleep, they opened the horse and came forth with their arms.> [...][3]

iii. [The Greeks fell upon the Trojans ...] Meges was wounded in the arm by Admetos son of Augeias, in the battle that the Trojans fought in the night. Lykomedes the son of Kreon was wounded in the wrist by Agenor. Astynous had fallen to his knees and Neoptolemos struck him with his sword. Helikaon, wounded in the night battle, was recognized by Odysseus and carried alive out of the fighting.[4] Eioneus was killed by Neoptolemos, and Admetos by Philoktetes. Koroibos, who had come to marry Kassandra, was killed by Diomedes. Priam was dragged away from the altar of Zeus of the Courtyard and fell an easy prey to Neoptolemos at the gate of his own palace. Axion son of Priam was killed by Eurypylos son of Euaimon. Agenor was slain by Neoptolemos. [...] Menelaos, when he caught a glimpse of the breasts of Helen unclad, cast away his sword. [...]

iv. When Ilion was taken, Aithra [the mother of Theseus] came stealthily to the Greek camp. She was recognized by the sons of Theseus, and Demophon asked for her from

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1. Apollodorus explicitly says this detail is from the *Little Iliad.* The manuscripts implausibly say 3000 men, probably from a corruption of ιγ΄ (13) to ˏγ (3000). Proclus doesn't mention the number of heroes or who they were, other sources give variable numbers and say they included Odysseus, Neoptolemos, Menelaos, Diomedes, Antiklos, Epeios, and others (e.g. *Odyssey* 4.280-9, 11.523-5; Hyginus, *Fabulae* 108; Quintus Smyrnaeus, *Posthomerica* 12.314-35).

2. Tabula Iliaca A (Capitolina) potrays Priam directing the Trojans who are pulling the wooden horse, with Sinon being marched ahead with hands tied (cf. Virgil, *Aeneid* 2.57-198, 234-249; see *Sack of Troy* part B and note). Proclus' summary ends here, but multiple sources say the *Little Iliad* continued until the sack of Troy and its aftermath.

3. None of the *Little Iliad* sources describe the Greeks' entry into Troy, but they probably entered through the breach in the wall, as in Dictys Cretensis 5.11-12 and Quintus, *Posthomerica* 12.440-41, 13.77-80 (and perhaps hinted at in the *Iliad* 6.433-39).

4. Helikaon was a son of Antenor, a Trojan who saved the lives of Odysseus and Menelaos when they came as envoys to Troy (see *Cypria* part L) and was thus a friend to the Greeks.

Agamemnon. He was ready to grant Demophon the favour, but said that Helen must first give her consent. He sent a herald, and Helen granted him the favour.[1]

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i. Scholiast on Euripides, *Hecuba* 910 (F14 W)
ii. Tzetzes, *On Lycophron* 344 (F14 W); Apollodorus, *Library* E.5.19-20
iii. Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 10.25.5-6, 26.2-8, 27.1-2 (F15-27 W); Aristophanes, *Lysistrata* 155 with Scholiast (F28 W)
iv. Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 10.25.8 (F17 W)

G. Astyanax killed and Captives Taken

i. Andromache's boy [Astyanax] was put to death by being flung from the tower by Neoptolemos of his own accord, as he was minded to murder him.[2] Andromache and Aineias (whose wife was Eurydike) were captured and given to Achilles' son Neoptolemos, and taken away with him to Pharsalia, Achilles' homeland.

> *ii.* "Then the bright son of bold Achilles led the wife of Hektor to the hollow ships; but her son he snatched from the bosom of his rich-haired nurse and seized him by the foot and cast him from a tower. So when he had fallen bloody death and hard fate seized on Astyanax."
>
> *iii.* "And Neoptolemos chose out Andromache, Hektor's well-girded wife, and the chiefs of all the Achaians gave her to him to hold requiting him with a welcome prize. And he put Aineias, the famous son of horse-taming Anchises, on board his sea-faring ships, a prize surpassing those of all the Danaäns."

iv. [...] the departure of the fleet [...]

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i. Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 10.25.9 (F18 W); Tzetzes, *On Lycophron* 1268 (F29 W)
ii-iii. Tzetzes, *On Lycophron* 1268 (F29-30 W)
iv. Aristotle, *Poetics* 1459b6-7

1. Demophon (and his brother Akamas) were the grandsons of Aithra, who had earlier been captured by Helen's brothers, Kastor and Polydeukes, and given to her as a handmaid (see *Cypria* part B iii and note).

2. Achilles' son killing Hektor's son is a fitting continuation of their feud. In other versions of the story, Odysseus or the Greek army are the ones to throw him from the wall (see *Sack of Troy* part C). His manner of death is predicted in the *Iliad* 24.734-8.

Appendix: Fragments with Uncertain Placement or Attribution

"[...] Deinome [...]"[1]
Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 10.26.2 (F20 W)

<"And as when a cucumber grows large in a well-watered spot.">[2]
Athenaeus, *Philosophers at Dinner* 73e (F31 W)

<"Muse, tell me of those things which neither happened before nor shall be hereafter.">[3]
Plutarch, *Moralia* 154a = *Septem Sapientium Convivium* 10 (F10 E)

<"Rumour came to the war host">[4]
Aeschines, *Against Timarchus* 1.128 (F32* W)

1. Nothing is known about Deinome, she may have been a member of the Trojan royal family.

2. Attributed to 'Lesches'. If it came from the *Little Iliad* it might refer to Neoptolemos growing up on Skyros (see part C); cf. Quintus, *Posthomerica* 7.645 describing him as growing like a sapling on Skyros.

3. Plutarch oddly introduces these one and a half lines with "Homer put forward the following verses as Lesches gives them," perhaps indicating a tradition about the author of the *Little Iliad* (see Attribution).

4. Aeschines says this half-line occurs often in Homer's *Iliad*, but it doesn't appear anywhere in the *Iliad* or *Odyssey*. Possibly he meant the *Little Iliad*.

V. The Sack of Troy

Introduction

The *Sack of Troy* (*Iliou Persis*) was apparently composed by Arctinus, the same author as the *Aethopis*. It might have been intended as a sequel, but there is a chronological gap between the two epics in which the death of Paris and arrival of Neoptolemos occured, these events were told in the *Little Iliad*, but there is no evidence it was intended to fill the space left by Arctinus (or vice versa) because it overlaps with and contradicts his epics; most notably both have different versions of the sack. There is some evidence that the *Sack of Troy*'s version is earlier, or at least contains earlier motifs. For example, it has Aineias and his followers leave Troy before the sack, reflecting an early tradition that his descendents continued to rule the Trojans in the area (*Iliad* 20.306-8; *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* 196-8), while the *Little Iliad* has him taken back to Greece as a captive, more in line with later stories that have him settling in the west. Also, in the *Sack of Troy* Neoptolemos kills Priam at an altar of Zeus, while the *Little Iliad* has him first drag Priam away from the altar to kill him at the palace, which is possibly an attempt to reduce the act's impiety. An older hypothesis held that the *Sack of Troy* was merely part of the *Little Iliad*, but our ancient sources make it clear they were separate poems with different details, such as Astyanax being killed by Neoptolemos (*Little Iliad*) rather than Odysseus (*Sack of Troy*). That said, their general outline is similar and they must have drawn on existing versions of the story. While the sack's exclusion from the *Iliad* meant there was no definitive 'Homeric' version, elements of it were already mentioned in the *Odyssey*, including the wooden horse, demonstrating its pre-Homeric existence. The *Sack of Troy* has the clearest narrative unity of any of the cyclic poems, covering only one dramatic sequence in a single time and place, and it was among the shortest at just two books long. The overall tone seems to have been grim, although it had some fantastical elements, such as the horse having moving limbs, and the appearance of two monstrous serpents. If the attribution to Arctinus is correct, it would be dated to the late 7th century BC with the *Aethiopis*.[1]

There are few fragments to expand on Proclus' typically brief summary, so there is no way of knowing if the poem contained familiar details found in later versions, such as Laokoön and Kassandra warning the Trojans not to keep the wooden horse in the city. Apollodorus can't be relied on to fill the gaps because he includes details which are not from the epic, such as Aineias fleeing during the sack, instead of before. As such, we have only a basic overview which covers the Trojans debating over the wooden horse, the Greek army entering the city, its brutal sacking, Lokrian Aias' offense against Athene, and the parcelling out of captives.

1. Davies (1989: 71); Fantuzzi and Tsagalis (2015: 344-347, 352-354); West (2013: 223-227)

Attribution

The Sack of Troy (*Iliou Persis*) contained two books and was attributed to Arctinus of Miletus.[1]

A. The Wooden Horse

[...][2]

The wooden horse was 100 feet long and 50 feet wide, and its tail and knees could move. The Trojans were suspicious of it and standing round it debated what they ought to do. Some thought they ought to hurl it down from the rocks; some were for burning it; while others said they ought to dedicate it to Athene. As most were in favour of sparing it as a votive offering, at last this third opinion prevailed. They betook them to mirth and feasting believing the war was at an end. But at this very time two serpents appeared and devoured Laokoön and one of his two sons,[3] a portent which so alarmed the followers of Aineias that they withdrew to Ida.

Scholiast Monac. on Virgil, *Aeneid* 2.15 (F1 W); Proclus, *Chrestomathy* (§1 W); Apollodorus, *Library* E.5.16-18

B. The Sack of Troy

i. Sinon then raised the fire-signal to the Achaians, having previously got into the city by pretence.[4] <Meanwhile Helen, going round the horse, called the heroes, imitating the voices of each of their wives. But when Antiklos would have answered, Odysseus held fast his mouth.> The Greeks then sailed in from Tenedos, and those in the wooden horse opened the horse and came forth with their arms. And marching, arms in hand, they fell upon their enemies, killing many and storming the city.[5] Neoptolemos killed Priam who had fled to the altar of Zeus of the Courtyard. Menelaos found Helen and took her to the ships, after killing Deiphobos.

ii. The Palladion had been given to Dardanos by Zeus, and this was in Ilion until the city was taken. <It was hidden in a secret place, and a copy was made resembling the original in

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1. Proclus, *Chrestomathy* (*Sack of Ilion* pref. W); Eusebius, *Chronicle* Olympiad 1.2 (775/774), 5.1 (760/759)

2. Proclus abruptly begins his summary with the Trojans debating over the horse. He may have cut out the beginning to make it follow directly from his *Little Iliad* summary. The rest of the story makes it clear that the Greek fleet was waiting at Tenedos for a signal from Sinon, as in the *Little Iliad*.

3. This might have been preceded by Laokoön supporting the destruction of the horse, as in Virgil, Apollodorus, and Quintus Smyrnaeus, *Posthomerica* 12.389-415. Servius on Virgil, *Aeneid* 2.201 says the serpents were sent by Apollo to punish Laokoön for disrespecting his temple.

4. In Virgil, *Aeneid* 2.57-198, Sinon spins a tale to the Trojans that the Greeks were in despair and had been trying to sail away, but were prevented by storms, so they chose him to be a human sacrifice to appease the gods for better weather. He claims he fled their camp and waited until they sailed. The Trojans believed him and took him into the city.

5. Apollodorus adds that Odysseus and Menelaos rescued Glaukos son of Antenor, whose father had saved them from the Trojans, see *Cypria* part L and compare *Little Iliad* part F where they rescue Helikaon, a different son of Antenor.

all points and set up for all to see, in order to deceive those who might have designs against it. This copy the Achaians took as a result of their plots.>[6]

iii. <Elektra, being unwilling to watch the sack of Ilion because it was a foundation of her descendants, left the place where she had been set as a star, so that whereas they had previously been seven, they became six.>[1]

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i. Proclus, *Chrestomathy* (§2 W); Apollodorus, *Library* E.5.19-22; Scholiast on *Odyssey* 4.285
ii. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities* 1.69.3 (F4 W)
iii. Scholiast D on *Iliad* 18.486a (F5* W)

C. The Aftermath of the Sack

i. Lokrian Aias, the son of Ileos, while trying to drag Kassandra away by force, tore away with her the wooden image of Athene that she was clinging to. At this the Greeks were so enraged that they determined to stone Aias, who only escaped from the danger threatening him by taking refuge at the altar of Athene.[2]

ii. The Greeks, after burning the city, sacrificed Polyxene at the tomb of Achilles. Odysseus killed Astyanax by hurling him from the city wall. Neoptolemos took Andromache as his prize, <Agamemnon got Kassandra and Odysseus got Hekabe,> and the remaining spoils were divided. Demophon and Akamas had found Aithra the mother of Theseus and took her with them, for whose sake they had come to Ilion, with Menestheos to lead them.

> *iii.* "The lord Agamemnon gave gifts to the sons of Theseus and to bold Menestheos, shepherd of hosts."

iv. Lastly, the Greeks sailed away, and Athene planned to destroy them on the high seas.[3]

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i. Proclus, *Chrestomathy* (§3 W); Apollodorus, *Library* E.5.22; [cf. Pausanias, *Description of Gr.* 10.26.3]
ii. Proclus, *Chrestomathy* (§4 W); Apollodorus, *Library* E.5.23; Scholiast on Euripides, *Andromache* 10 (F3 W); Scholiast on Euripides, *Trojan Women* 31 (F6 W); [cf. Ps-Demosthenes, *Funeral Oration* 60.29]
iii. Scholiast on Euripides, *Trojan Women* 31 (F6 W)
iv. Proclus, *Chrestomathy* (§3 W)

6. The words in brackets might be a comment by Dionysius, the source for this passage, reflecting a later tradition.

1. Elektra was a star goddess, one of the seven Pleiades, who was a progenitor of the Trojan royal family. The Scholiast says this is "found in the cyclic poets" but doesn't say which. It may belong to the *Little Iliad*.

2. Proclus' summary is unclear if the attempted stoning happened during or after the sack. According to Apollodorus, it occured when the Greeks were preparing to set sail, after Kalchas revealed that Aias had angered Athene. Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 10.31.2 says Odysseus was the one who urged the Greeks to stone him.

3. This was because of Lokrian Aias' desecration of her statue and the Greeks' failure to punish him. Proclus writes this immediately after Aias' desecration, perhaps because the epic foretold the fleet's destruction, and Aias' drowning, at that point.

Appendix: Fragments with Uncertain Placement or Attribution

> "For their father the famous Earth-Shaker[1] gave both of them [Machaon and Podalirios] gifts, making each more glorious than the other. To the one he gave hands more light to draw or cut out missiles from the flesh and to heal all kinds of wounds; but in the heart of the other he put full and perfect knowledge to tell hidden diseases and cure desperate sicknesses. It was he who first noticed Aias' flashing eyes and clouded mind when he was enraged."
>
> Scholiast T on *Iliad* 11.515 (F2 W)

> <"Of Priam's fate and famous war I'll sing.">[2]
>
> Horace, *Ars Poetica* 137

1. A title of Poseidon. In other versions their father is Asklepios, the god of healing, who seems more appropriate as they were both healers; this quote indicates Machaon was a surgeon and Podalirios a physician.

2. Horace cites this to criticise the cyclic poets' unsubtle style, it might be a quote from the opening of the *Sack of Troy.*

VI. The Returns

Introduction

The Returns (*Nostoi*) focused on Agamemnon and Menelaos as its framework for the Greeks returning after sacking Troy, indicated by its alternate title, the *Return of the Atreides* (the two were sons of Atreus, hence Atreides). The epic dealt with the overarching threat of Athene's anger against the Greeks due to Lokrian Aias' desecration of her temple at Troy and the Greeks' failure to punish him (see *Sack of Troy* part C). The epic's returns align very closely with those recounted by characters in the *Odyssey* (see Appendix 2), and it mentions Odysseus only briefly, suggesting the author knew the *Odyssey,* or a similar epic, and deliberately complemented its story. This literary relationship is complicated by both epics using pre-*Odyssey* traditions about the returns, shown by the *Odyssey's* assumption that its audience already knows the journeys of the other Greeks, and the *Returns'* inclusion of journeys which are absent from the *Odyssey.* Some scholars suggest both epics developed in parallel from pre-existant oral epics, or even that the *Returns* is earlier, but it is significant that the latter looks like a deliberate prequel to the *Odyssey.* Because of these factors, the *Returns* is often dated not long after the *Odyssey*, in the 7th century BC.[1]

The *Returns* poses challenges for reconstructing its plot. Proclus' summary, our usual guide, is extremely brief and is missing key details; it only vaguely sketches the returns of Agamemnon and Menelaos despite them being the focus of the epic. Therefore, this reconstruction uses supplemental material to uncertainly fill the gaps, mostly taken from the *Odyssey,* Apollodorus, and Pindar. An example of a difficulty is the shipwreck of Agamemnon's fleet. Proclus' summary merely says "the storm at the Kapherides is then described." In the *Odyssey,* the shipwreck is caused by a storm at the Gyraean rocks, while in tragedies it is at the Kapherides and the shipwreck is caused by Nauplios misdirecting the fleet with a lantern. Possibly the *Returns* had the tragic version and Proclus excluded Nauplios for brevity; or it had the *Odyssey*'s version and equated the Gyraean rocks with the Kapherides; or Proclus made a mistake (he mistakes two names elsewhere, see note 3 on part B); or any combination of the above. This reconstruction goes with the second option, the *Odyssey's* storm placed at the Kapherides, but without much certainty.

Because the epic contained multiple journeys taking place simultaneously, its original stucture is not obvious. It may have told the journeys in parallel and skipped back and forth between them, or told one and then jumped back to the departure of the next one, and perhaps used flashbacks as the *Odyssey* does. The epic has the Greeks first split up due to Menelaos and Agamemnon arguing over whether to set sail immediately. Menelaos' group does so and his main fleet is hit by a storm which blows him to Egypt. After waiting, Agamemnon sets off and his fleet encounters a storm (possibly the same one as Menelaos)

1. West (2013: 244-250); Fantuzzi and Tsagalis (2015: 355-361, 365-379)

which drowns Lokrian Aias, but Agamemnon himself survives and arrives home, where his wife and her lover are planning his murder (possibly his murder was immediately described on his arrival). The seer Kalchas follows neither of the two brothers and sets off over land to the south, before dying in a prophetic competition. Achilles' son Neoptolemos also travels by land (presumably after a short voyage to Thrace), briefly meets Odysseus, and goes on to the land of the Molossians in north western Greece (likely due to a prophetic message, otherwise he would have travelled to his ancestral homeland of Phthia). Agamemnon's murder is then told, or was already told as part of his return, and a period of seven years elapses, after which his son takes revenge on the murderers. On the very day of the vengeance, Menelaos finally returns from his wanderings and meets Agamemnon's son, tragically reuniting the stories of the two brothers.

Attribution

The *Returns* (*Nostoi*), or the *Returns of the Achaians*, or the *Return of the Atreides*, contained five books and was attributed to Agias of Troezen, or Eumelus/Eumolpus of Corinth, or a poet from Colophon, or multiple poets, or Homer.[1]

A. Agamemnon and Menelaos Argue, Menelaos Sets Sail

The Greeks met in assembly, and Athene caused a quarrel between Agamemnon and Menelaos about the voyage from Troy, Menelaos advising that they should sail away, and Agamemnon insisting that they should stay and sacrifice to Athene. Agamemnon then stayed on to appease the anger of the goddess. Diomedes and Nestor put out to sea and had a prosperous voyage, arriving safely home. After them Menelaos set out and <put in at Sunion, a headland of Attika,> he was overtaken by a storm <and being driven thence by winds to Crete he drifted far away,> losing the rest of his vessels, and arrived with five ships in Egypt.[2]

Proclus, *Chrestomathy* (§1 W); Apollodorus, *Library* E.6.1, 29

B. Kalchas and his Party Travel by Land

i. Those with Kalchas, Leonteus, and Polypoites left their ships in Ilion and journeyed by land to Colophon, and there buried Kalchas the diviner.[3]

ii. <For it was foretold Kalchas that he would die if he met with a wiser diviner than himself. Well, they were lodged by the diviner Mopsos, who was a son of Apollo and Manto, and he wrangled with Kalchas about the art of divination. A wild fig-tree grew on the spot, and when Kalchas asked, ‘How many figs does it bear?’ Mopsos answered, ‘Ten thousand, and a bushel, and one fig over,’ and they were found to be so. And Mopsos asked Kalchas concerning a pregnant sow, ‘How many pigs has she in her womb, and when will she farrow?’ and when Kalchas said nothing, Mopsos said that the sow had ten pigs, and that one of them was a male, and that she would farrow on the morrow. So when these things turned out so, Kalchas died of a broken heart and was buried at Notion.>[4]

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1. Proclus, *Chrestomathy* (*Returns* pref. W); Athenaeus, *Philosophers at Dinner* 281b; Poculum Homericum, *Megarischer Becker* 36 p. 101 Sinn; Scholiast on Pindar, *Olympian* 13.31a; Eustathius, *Commentary on the Odyssey* 1796.52; The Suda N 500 with marginal note; Hesychius of Miletus, *Life of Homer* 6.

2. Apollodorus describes this journey of Menelaos twice, first in a version very similar to Proclus, then in a version very similar to the *Odyssey*, probably an artefact of summarising both epics. Under the assumption that the *Returns* aligned with the *Odyssey*, Apollodorus’ two versions have been merged with Proclus’.

3. As a prophet, Kalchas probably foresaw the storms awaiting the Greeks and so travelled by land. Proclus says Teiresias was the one buried here, but he didn’t take part in the Trojan war and was already long dead (*Odyssey* 10.490-5; Apollodorus, *Library* 3.7.3), so Apollodorus must be more accurate when he says Kalchas. Proclus’ mistake may have arisen from Mopsos being the grandson of Teiresias, or perhaps Kalchas met Teiresias in the underworld (see part H; cf. *Odyssey* 11.90-137).

4. Proclus doesn’t explain the death of Kalchas, but his contest with Mopsos was an early tradition, and plausibly part of the *Returns.* The text here is from Apollodorus; the *Returns* may have had only one of these two contests, as in other versions (Strabo, *Geography* 14.1.27),. Tzetzes, *On Lycophron* 980 says the rest of Kalchas’ party travelled on to Greece, while Herodotus, *Histories* 7.91 says they settled south of Colophon.

i. Proclus, *Chrestomathy* (§2 W); Apollodorus, *Library* E.6.2
ii. Apollodorus, *Library* E.6.2-4 (Vatican epitome)

C. Agamemnon's Fleet Shipwrecked

i. When Agamemnon and his followers were preparing to sail, the ghost of Achilles appeared and tried to prevent them by foretelling what should befall them. After sacrificing, Agamemnon put to sea. But Thetis came and persuaded Neoptolemos to wait <two days and to offer sacrifice>; and he waited. But the others put to sea and encountered the storm at the rocks called Kapherides; <for Athene entreated Zeus to send a tempest against the Greeks; and many ships foundered.>

ii. <Lokrian Aias truly was lost amid his long-oared ships. Upon the great rocks Poseidon at first drove him, but saved him from the sea; and he would have escaped his doom, hated of Athene though he was, had he not uttered a boastful word in great blindness of heart. He declared that it was in spite of the gods that he had escaped the great gulf of the sea; but Poseidon heard his boastful speech, and smote the rock with his trident and split it,> and Aias fell into the sea and perished.[1]

iii. <But Agamemnon escaped the fates and shunned them with his hollow ships, for queenly Hera saved him.>[2]

i. Proclus, *Chrestomathy* (§3 W); Apollodorus, *Library* E.6.5
ii. Odyssey 4.500-505; Proclus, *ibid*; Apollodorus, *Library* E.6.6
iii. Odyssey 4.512-13

D. The Return of Neoptolemos

After remaining <in Tenedos two days> at the advice of Thetis, Neoptolemos with Phoinix <and Helenos> journeyed overland and, coming into Thrace, met Odysseus at Maronea.[3] On the way Phoinix died and Neoptolemos buried him and then finished the rest of his journey, setting out for the country of the Molossians. On reaching the Molossians, Neoptolemos was recognized by Peleus.[4]

Apollodorus, *Library* E.6.12-13; Proclus, *Chrestomathy* (§4 W)

1. Lokrian Aias' death here is mostly taken from the *Odyssey* because Proclus merely says "the end of Lokrian Aias", and Apollodorus has a later version in which Athene uses Zeus' thunderbolt (as in Euripides, *Trojan Women* 75-86; Virgil, *Aeneid* 1.39-45; Seneca, *Agamemnon* 530-556; Hyginus, *Fabulae* 116). The later version may have originated from the *Returns*, but it's plausible that it was closer to the *Odyssey* as they usually align, see introduction and Appendix 2.

2. The *Returns* sources don't say how Agamemnon avoided shipwreck. These lines are from the *Odyssey.*

3. Thrace was Odysseus' first stop after Troy, where he encountered the Kikonians (*Odyssey* 9.39-61).

4. Peleus was the father of Achilles, grandfather of Neoptolemos, and king of Phthia. Other versions add that Neoptolemos became king of the Molossians (Pindar, *Nemean* 7.35-40; Scholiast on *Odyssey* 3.188) and that after Peleus was expelled from Phthia, Neoptolemos left Molossia to inherit his kingdom (Apollodorus). Neoptolemos is king of Phthia during the events of the *Odyssey* (4.3-10), but it implies he sailed back (3.188-9) and doesn't mention a journey to Molossia.

E. Returns of the Other Greeks

[...][1]

[Material lost; cf. *Odyssey* 3.190-2; Apollodorus, *Library* E.6.15-20 (Tzetzes, *On Lycophron* 902, 911, 921)]

F. The Return and Death of Agamemnon, Orestes' Revenge

i. Klytaimnestra was unfaithful to her husband [Agamemnon] with Aigisthos. After Agamemnon returned to Mycenae with Kassandra, he was murdered by them, they also killed Kassandra, and Agamenon's [supporters] Alkmeon and Mestor son of Aias [were killed by] Antiochos and Argeios. So Aigisthos reigned over Mycenae <for seven years>.

ii. Orestes, <at the slaying of his father, was rescued by his nurse Arsinoe from the strong hands of Klytaimnestra and from her direful treachery. The young child safely reached Strophios, the aged friend of the house, who dwelt at the foot of Parnassus, and he brought him up with Pylades, his own son. And when Orestes was grown up he> departed secretly to Mycenae in company with Pylades, and killed both his mother and Aigisthos,[2] <and Pylades killed the sons of Nauplios who had come to bring Aigisthos support>, for before his death Nauplios had married a wife, Philyra, by her he had his sons Palamedes, Oiax, and Nausimedon.[3]

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i. Apollodorus, *Library* E.6.9, 23; Proclus, *Chrestomathy* (§5 W); Poculum Homericum, *Megarischer Becker* 36 p. 101 Sinn (F10 W); *Odyssey* 3.304

ii. Pindar, *Pythian* 11.15-18, 34-36; Apollodorus, *Library* E.6.24-25, 2.1.5; Proclus, *ibid*; Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 1.22.6

G. The Return of Menelaos and Helen

i. <Menelaos wandered up and down Libya, and Phoenicia, and Cyprus, and Egypt, and he collected much treasure. And after wandering for eight years he came to port at Mycenae,

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1. The *Returns* must have mentioned some of the other Greeks, but they aren't in our fragments. The *Odyssey* 3.190-2 says Philoktetes and Idomeneus returned safely. Apollodorus, *Library* E.6.15-20 (with Tzetzes) provides a mass of information about the minor heroes landing in various places and founding cities, but it's unknown if any of it comes from the *Returns*.

2. Proclus only says "the vengeance of Orestes and Pylades." The *Odyssey* doesn't mention Pylades and says Orestes returned from Athens (3.307), although some suspect this to be an Athenian edit (Heubeck, *et al.* I.180). The version with Pylades relies on Orestes being taken in by Pylades' father, Strophius, who lived in Phokis. Apollodorus' version uses details from tragedies, so it has been stripped back and supplemented by the earlier version of Pindar, which may be closer to the epic.

3. Nauplios was the father of Palamedes, who had been killed by Odysseus (*Cypria* part M). In some versions, Palamedes' death involved Agamemnon (Apollodorus, *Library* E.6.8-9; Hyginus, *Fabulae* 105). Apollodorus says Nauplios' wife is mentioned in the *Returns*, and then lists his sons, while Pausanias describes a painting of Nauplios' sons being killed alongside Aigisthos. Together, these imply Nauplios' family supported the usurper Aigisthos to get revenge on Agamemnon and his family. Nauplios may also have played a role in the shipwreck at the Kapherides, see introduction and part C.

and there found Orestes, who had avenged his father's murder.> Finally, he returned home, and having come to Sparta he regained his own kingdom.[1]

ii. <Megapenthes was Menelaos' well-beloved son, born of a slave woman> who was a Getic.[2]

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i. Apollodorus, *Library* E.6.29; Proclus, *Chrestomathy* (§5 W)
ii. Odyssey 4.12 with Scholiast (F13 W)

H. A Description of Hades

i. [...] An account of Hades and the terrors there [...][3]

ii. [...] the souls of the dead (*nekades*) [...]

iii. [...] Tantalos came and lived with the gods, and was permitted to ask for whatever he desired. But the man was so immoderately given to pleasures that he asked for these and for a life like the life of the gods. At this Zeus was annoyed, but fulfilled his prayer because of his own promise; but to prevent him from enjoying any of the pleasures provided, and to keep him continually harassed, he hung a stone over his head which prevents him from ever reaching any of the pleasant things near by.

iv. [...] Klymene was a daughter of Minyas, she married Kephalos the son of Deion, and a son Iphiclos was born to them. [...]

v. [...] Maira was still a maid when she departed this life, being the daughter of Proteus, son of Thersander, who was a son of Sisyphos. [...]

vi. [...] Jason's father Aison [...]

> "Forthwith Medeia made Aison a sweet young boy and stripped his old age from him by her cunning skill, when she had made a brew of many herbs in her golden cauldrons." [...]

vii. [...] Asclepios was killed by Zeus [...]

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i. Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 10.28.7 (F1 W)
ii. Etymologicum Genuinum, Magnum, Gudianum s.v. *nekades* (F2 W)

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1. Proclus is again frustratingly brief, only saying "Menelaos returns home." The bracketed text is from Apollodorus and is very similar to the *Odyssey* 4.81-92, 120-36, 3.306-12. Apollodorus adds that Menelaos and Helen were later transferred to the Isles of the Blessed, similar to their prophesied transferral to the Elysian Fields in the *Odyssey* 4.561-9.

2. This is from the *Odyssey* 4.12, which provides the bracketed text. Her being a Getic (from the Getae, a Thracian tribe) is attributed to the *Returns* by a Scholiast on the same *Odyssey* verse.

3. Pausanias says this description of Hades was in the *Returns*, and several fragments are about figures who died before the Trojan war, so they plausibly appeared as underworld shades, as in *Odyssey* book 11. Unfortunately, our sources don't say when this took place in the narrative. It might have followed a prominent death, such as that of Kalchas (part B), Lokrian Aias (part C), Phoinix (part D), Agamemnon (part F), or Aigisthos and his men (part F), this last one would imply a scene similar to the suitors arriving in Hades in the *Odyssey* book 24. See the Glossary of names for the characters mentioned here.

iii. Athenaeus, *Philosophers at Dinner* 281b (F3 W)
iv. Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 10.29.6 (F4 W)
v. Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 10.30.5 (F5 W)
vi. Argument to Euripides, *Medea* (F6 W)
vii. Philodemus, *On Piety* B 4901 Obbink (F9 W)

Appendix 1: Fragments with Uncertain Placement or Attribution

"Hermioneus chased swiftly after Isos and stabbed him in the groin with his spear."[1]
Athenaeus, *Philosophers at Dinner* 399a (F12 W)

<"For gifts beguile men's minds and their deeds as well.">[2]
Clement of Alexandria, *Miscellanies* 6.12.7 [6.2] (F7 W)

<... begin Diomedes' return from the death of Meleager>[3]
Horace, *Ars Poetica* 146

1. Hermioneus might have been a supporter of Aigisthos and this line came from the massacre of Agamemnon's group (Fantuzzi and Tsagalis, 2015: 366) or he was a son of Menelaos who helped Orestes against Aigisthos' men (West, 2003: 163).

2. Clement attributes this line to 'Agias', probably Agias of Troezen who Proclus says is the author of the *Returns*.

3. Horace is critiquing imitations of the cyclic poets, in this case for recounting the death of Diomedes' uncle before Diomedes' return from Troy.

Appendix 2: The returns in the *Odyssey*, arranged chronologically

Because the Greeks had offended Athene, Agamemnon proposed to stay and offer her sacrifices, but Menelaos wanted to sail immediately. The brothers argued, and the Greeks split up. (*Od.* 3.135-156)

Menelaos' group stopped at Tenedos, where Odysseus also argued with him and left to join Agamemnon. Diomedes and Nestor were with Menelaos but set sail first, Menelaos caught up with them at Lesbos and they set out for Greece together. When they reached the cape of Athens, Menelaos' steersman died and he stopped to bury him. Diomedes and Nestor went on ahead and arrived safely, but Menelaos' fleet was hit by a storm sent by Zeus, most were shipwrecked on Crete but Menelaos himself was blown to Egypt with five ships. (*Od.* 3.157-184, 275-302)

Neoptolemos, Philoktetes, and Idomeneus sailed back safely [it is not clear if they were with Menelaos, Agamemnon, or sailed separately]. (*Od.* 3.188-93, 11.533-7)

Agamemnon's fleet set off and was hit by a storm at the Gyraean rocks, due to the anger of Athene. Lokrian Aias was initially saved by Poseidon but boastfully claimed he had defied the gods, so Poseidon drowned him. (*Od.* 4.495-512)

Odysseus was blown off course and lost his way. (*Od.* 5.110-11, 9.39-81)

Agamemnon was saved by Hera and escaped the storm, sailing home. (*Od.* 4.512-523)

Aigisthos had seduced Agamemnon's wife Klytaimnestra, despite Hermes' warning not to do so. When Agamemnon returned, they invited him to a feast, along with Kassandra and his companions, where they planned to ambush them with a force of 20 men. Aigisthos and Klytaimnesta killed Agamemnon, while his companions and Aigisthos' men all killed each other in the fight. Aigisthos then ruled Mycenae for seven years. (*Od.* 1.35-43, 3.193-4, 262-275, 303-5; 4.524-37; 11.409-434)

Menelaos travelled around Cyprus, Phoenecia, Egypt, Ethiopia, the Eremboi, Sidon, and Libya, and collected many treasures. (*Od.* 4.81-92, 120-36; 15.115-118)

On the island of Pharos off the coast of Egypt, Menelaos and his men caught Proteus, a sea god, who prophetically told them about the death of Lokrian Aias, Odysseus being lost, and the murder of Agamemnon. Proteus told Menelaos he could now sail back to Greece, where he might catch Aigisthos, or otherwise bury him if Orestes got to him first. (*Od.* 4.492-587)

In the eighth year of Aigisthos' rule, Agamemnon's son Orestes came back and took revenge by killing Aigisthos and Klytaimnestra, and buried them. Menelaos returned that very day. (*Od.* 3.195-8, 255-261, 306-12)

Menelaos arranged the marriage of his daughter Hermione to Neoptolemos, which he had promised to do when they were at Troy. (*Od.* 4.1-14)

VII. The Odyssey

The *Odyssey*, "(the epic) of Odysseus," contains twenty-four books and was attributed to Homer. It is dated to the 8th or 7th century BC. This summary is included to provide a continuous story with the other epics, it is based on Apollodorus, *Library* E.7.1-33 with extensive edits to bring it closer to the *Odyssey.* There are countless studies on this epic, an accessible one is Peter V. Jones (1988) *Homer's Odyssey: A Companion*. Bristol: Bristol Classical Press.

A. Telemachos searches for Odysseus (*Odyssey* 1-4)

> "Tell me, O Muse, of the man of many turns, who wandered full many ways after he had sacked the sacred citadel of Troy ..."

After leaving Troy, Odysseus became lost and, after many wanderings, was stranded on the island of the nymph Kalypso for seven years. At home, his property was being wasted; for, believing that he was dead, suitors were wooing his wife Penelope. These, journeying to the palace, consumed the herds of Odysseus at their feasts. And Penelope was compelled to promise that she would wed when the shroud of Laertes was finished, and she wove it for three years, weaving it by day and undoing it by night. In this way the suitors were deceived by Penelope, until she was detected. At that time Athene told Odysseus' son Telemachos to seek out Nestor, who told him of his own return and the fate of Agamemnon, but had no knowledge of Odysseus' journey. Telemachos then went on to Menelaos, who told him of his own wanderings and informed him that Odysseus was stranded. The suitors then plotted to kill Telemachos.

B. Kalypso and the Land of the Phaiakians (*Odyssey* 5-8)

At Athene's request, Hermes persuaded Kalypso to allow Odysseus to leave the island, so he made a raft and sailed away. But on the high sea the raft was broken in pieces by the wrath of Poseidon, and Odysseus was washed up naked on the shore of the Phaiakians. Now Nausikaa, the daughter of king Alkinoös, was washing the clothes, and when Odysseus implored her protection, she showed him the way to Alkinoös, who entertained him with feasting, songs, and athletic games, and asked Odysseus to tell the story of his travels.

C. Odysseus tells of the Kikones, Lotus-eaters, and Cyclopes (*Odyssey* 9)

Odysseus told them that after putting to sea from Ilion, he pillaged the land of the Kikones, and then landed in the country of the Lotus-eaters, where the Lotus-fruit caused whoever ate it to forget everything. Then having sailed to the land of the Cyclopes, he and his men were trapped in the cave of the cyclops Polyphemos, son of Poseidon, who ate some of the men. Odysseus intoxicated Polyphemos wine and said his name was Nobody. He and his men sharpened the cyclops' club and blinded him by stabbing his eye, and when the other cyclopes came at Polyphemos' yell and asked who was killing him, he said 'Nobody,' and

so they left. And when his flocks sought their usual pasture, Polyphemos rolled the stone away and Odysseus and his comrades escaped slung under the sheep. And sailing away, Odysseus shouted to the cyclops his true name, and the cyclops hurled rocks at the ship. From that time Poseidon was wroth with Odysseus.

D. Odysseus tells of Aiolos, the Laistrygonians, and Circe (*Odyssey* 10)

Odysseus told that he next came to the island of Aiolos, keeper of the winds. Aiolos gave him a bag containing the winds, and using them he had a prosperous voyage. But when they approached Ithaka he slept, and his comrades, thinking he carried gold in the bag, loosed it and let the winds free, and he was swept back to Aiolos who drove him from the island. Sailing, he came to the land of the Laistrygonians, who were cannibals and devoured one of his men and Odysseus escaped with only a single vessel. He put in to the Aiaian isle, inhabited by Circe. She transformed his men into swine but Odysseus went to her with moly[1], which he had received from Hermes, and throwing the moly among her enchantments, he drank and alone was not enchanted. Then drawing his sword, he would have killed her, but she restored his comrades, and Odysseus shared her bed.

E. Odysseus tells of the Land of the Dead (*Odyssey* 11)

Odysseus continued to tell that he tarried a year on Circe's island, and on her advice sailed across the Ocean to the land of the dead and offered a sacrifice of blood to the souls. He looked on Elpenor who had died of a fall from the roof of Circe's house, and his mother Antiklia, and consulted the prophet Teiresias who told him what he must do to reach Ithaka, to not eat the cattle of Helios, and to appease Poseidon with offerings upon his return. He beheld the souls both of heroes and of heroines, among them Agamemnon, Achilles, Aias son of Telamon, and Herakles.

F. Odysseus tells of the Sirens, Skylla and Charybdis, and Helios' island (*Odyssey* 12)

He further told that, having come back to Circe, he put to sea and sailed past the the sirens whose song lures men to their deaths, and Odysseus wished to hear their them, so by Circe's advice he stopped the ears of his comrades with wax, and ordered that he should himself be bound to the mast. And after that he came to the two ways. By the advice of Circe he shunned the passage by the Wandering Rocks, and avoiding Charybdis sailed past the cliff of Skylla. But Skylla snatched six of his comrades, and gobbled them up. And thence he came to the island of Helios, and when his comrades slaughtered some of the god's cattle and banqueted on them, Helios reported it to Zeus, and when Odysseus put out to sea, Zeus struck his ship with a thunderbolt. And he clung to the mast of the broken ship, and drifted back to Charybdis, from whom he escaped, and whence drifted to the island of Kalypso.

1. A magical herb which granted protection from enchantments.

G. The Phaiakians escort Odysseus to Ithaka (*Odyssey* 13)

Having finished his tale, the Phaiakians gave Odysseus gifts and sent him away with a convoy to his native land. But Poseidon was wroth with the Phaiakians for lending aid, and after Odysseus had landed and the ship was returning to Phaiakia, he turned it to stone in sight of the shore. And Odysseus, after landing at Ithaka, met Athene who disguised his appearance.

H. Odysseus arrives home (*Odyssey* 14-20)

And Odysseus came to his swine-herd Eumaios in the guise of a beggar, and while lodging with him learnt of the state of things at his home. Telemachos returned to Ithaka and there met Odysseus, who revealed himself, and they planned to retake the palace from the suitors. Travelling to the city, they encountered Melanthios the goatherd, his servant, who insulted them and supported the suitors. On coming to the palace Odysseus begged food of the suitors, and being threatened by a beggar called Iros, he defeated him in boxing. After Penelope demanded gifts from the suitors, Odysseus, while yet in disguise, spoke to her, but revealed himself only to his servants Eumaios and Philoitios; with these, and Telemachos, he laid the plot against the suitors.

I. Odysseus kills the Suitors (*Odyssey* 21-24)

Now Penelope delivered to the suitors the bow of Odysseus, which he had once received from Iphitos; and she said she would marry him who could string the bow and launch an arrow through a dozen axes. When none could even bend it, Odysseus took it up and succeeded, and shot down many of the suitors. And he, with Eumaios, Philoitios, and Telemachos, armed themselves and did battle with those who remained, slaying every one of them. He killed also Melanthios, and the handmaids that bedded with the suitors, and he revealed himself to his wife, who at first tested him, but when it became clear he was truly her husband, they tearfully embraced. He then went to his father Laertes, and the kinsmen of the suitors threatened revenge, but the conflict was halted by Athene and Zeus.

VIII. The Telegony

Introduction

The title *Telegony* refers to Odysseus' son Telegonos, a character unknown to the *Odyssey*, whom Odysseus unwittingly had with Circe while staying on her island. His story makes up the second half of the epic. The alternate title *Thesprotis* refers to the epic's first half, in which Odysseus travels to the land of the Thesprotians in Epirus, across the sea from his island kingdom of Ithaka. The epic is most commonly attributed to Eugammon from Cyrene, a Greek colony in Libya. The author being Cyrenean is supported by Odysseus' fourth son in the epic being named Arkesilaos, which may be an attempt to connect Odysseus' lineage to king Arkesilaos II of Cyrene (reigned somewhere in the region of 570-550 BC), whose reign aligns with the date Eusebius gives for the *Telegony* in 567/6 BC (*Chronicle* Olympiad 53.2). The author seems to have combined at least three traditions about Odysseus' later life. The first, prophecied in the *Odyssey*, has Odysseus travel far inland to propitiate Poseidon, and later die a peaceful death. The second is a story that he settled in the land of the Thesprotians and started a dynasty there. The third is a legend that his lost son Telegonos mistakenly killed him on Ithaka. These sit uneasily together, as Odysseus' settlement in Thesprotis isn't part of Teiresias' prophecy for him in the *Odyssey*, and his settlement needs to be reversed to get him back to Ithaka for the unconnected Telegonos story. Eugammon may have seen a gap in the cycle left for these post-*Odyssey* stories and amalgamated them into a short epic intended to please the local royal family. Clement of Alexandria (*Miscellanies* 6.25.1 [6.2]) says that Eugammon stole "the entire book on the Thesprotians from Musaeus," which may indicate the Thesprotian part of the story existed independently in another version. We probably shouldn't take Clement's accusation of direct plagiarism seriously, however, because Musaeus was a semi-legendary author to whom many works were attributed.[1]

The epic has a basic two act structure with a prelude. After the events of the *Odyssey*, Odysseus ties off some loose ends in Ithaka and has a leisurely journey to see his cattle. He then goes to the Thesprotians on the mainland, marries their queen, has a son with her, and leaves them when the queen dies. He is now back at home to meet Telegonos, who is seemingly unaware he has found his father's island when he lands because he tries to steal his livestock and kills him in a fight. Finally, Odysseus' sons Telemachos and Telegonos marry each other's mothers, Circe and Penelope. Most modern critics regard this soap opera ending as a poor conclusion to the epic cycle.

1. Davies (1989: 84-85, 91); Fantuzzi and Tsagalis (2015: 380-4, 399-401); West (2013: 288-292)

Attribution

The *Telegony*, or *Thesprotis*, contained two books and was most commonly attributed to Eugammon of Cyrene, or alternatively to Cinaethon of Lakedaimon, or (dubiously) Musaeus.[1]

A. Odysseus Travels to Elis and Thesprotis

i. The suitors of Penelope were buried by their kinsmen, and Odysseus, after sacrificing to the Nymphs, sailed to Elis to inspect his herds. He was entertained there by Polyxenos and received a mixing bowl as a gift, the story of Trophonios and Agamedes and Augeias then followed.[2] He next sailed back to Ithaka and performed the sacrifices ordered by Teiresias.

ii. He then journeyed on foot through Epirus, and came to Thesprotis, <according to the directions of the soothsayer Teiresias: "Then you shall go forth, taking a shapely oar, until you come to men that know nothing of the sea, ... When another wayfarer, on meeting you, shall say that you have a winnowing-fan on your stout shoulder, then you shall fix in the earth your shapely oar and make ceremonius offerings to lord Poseidon."And having offered the sacrifice, he propitiated Poseidon.>[3] Kallidike, who was then queen of the Thesprotians, urged him to stay and offered him the kingdom, he married Kallidike and she had by him a son named Polypoites, and he reigned over the Thesprotians.

iii. A war then broke out between the Thesprotians, led by Odysseus, and the Brygi. Ares routed the army of Odysseus and Athene engaged with Ares, until Apollo separated them, so Odysseus defeated in battle the neighbouring peoples who attacked him. But when Kallidike died he handed over the kingdom to his son Polypoites and returned to Ithaka. There he found Penelope had borne him another son, named Poliporthes or Arkesilaos.[4]

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i. Proclus, *Chrestomathy* (§§1-2 W)

ii. Proclus, *Chrestomathy* (§2 W); Apollodorus, *Library* E.7.34-35; *Odyssey* 11.121-130

iii. Proclus, *ibid*; Apollodorus, *Library* E.7.35; Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 8.12.5-6 (F3 W); Eustathius, *Commentary on the Odyssey* 1796.48 (F4 W)

B. Telegonos Journeys to Ithaka, and the Death of Odysseus

i. [During his voyage from Troy,] Odysseus had shared Circe's bed, and a son, Telegonos, had been born to him. When Telegonos learned from Circe that he was a son of Odysseus, he sailed in search of him. While travelling, he landed on Ithaka and raided the island,

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1. Proclus, *Chrestomathy* (*Telegony* pref. West); Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 8.12.5; Syncellus, *Ekloge Chronographias* 454; Eusebius, *Chronicle* Olympiad 4.1, 53.2; Clement of Alexandria, *Miscellanies* 6.25.1

2. Odysseus was probably visiting the cattle-sheds of Augeias, which Herakles cleansed as his fifth labour (Diodorus, *Library of History* 4.13.3). Polyxenos was the grandson of Augeias and the story he told was probably about the brothers Trophonios and Agemedes building Augeias' treasury and secretly stealing from it (Charax of Pergamon, *F Gr Hist* 103 F 5).

3. This section is bracketed because it is not mentioned by Proclus, but it would be strange for the epic to contradict Teiresias' prophecy from the *Odyssey* while referencing it, and it would leave Odysseus' journey inland unexplained. It's entirely possible the *Telegony* had two sets of sacrifices, as in Apollodorus' version.

4. Possibly Penelope named him at birth and Odysseus gave him a second name when he returned; similar to Achilles' son being first named 'Pyrrhos' by his grandfather, then 'Neoptolemos' by Phoinix (*Cypria* part I).

driving away some of the cattle. Odysseus came out to defend his country, but Telegonos wounded him with the spear he had in his hands, <which was barbed with the spine of a sting ray,> and Odysseus died of the wound.[1]

ii. But when Telegonos recognized him, he bitterly lamented. He transported his father's body with Penelope and Telemachos to his mother Circe's island, where Circe made them immortal, and Telegonos married Penelope, and Telemachos married Circe.[2]

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i. Apollodorus, *Library* E.7.16; Scholiast on *Odyssey* 11.134 (F5 W); Apollodorus, *Library* E.7.36; Proclus, *Chrestomathy* (§3 W); [cf. Eustathius, *Commentary on the Odyssey* 1796.48]

ii. Apollodorus, *Library* E.7.37; Proclus, *Chrestomathy* (§4 W); [cf. Eustathius, *Commentary on the Odyssey* 1796.52 (F4 W)]

Appendix: Fragments with Uncertain Attribution

<"[Odysseus in his old age] ate heartily of abundant meat and sweet wine.">[3]
Athenaeus, *Philosophers at Dinner* 412d (F1* W)

<On a visit to Circe, Hephaistos made Telegonos a spear from a sting ray that Phorkys had killed when it was eating the fish in Phorkys' lake. Its head was of adamant, and its shaft of gold. With it he killed Odysseus.>[4]
Scholiast on *Odyssey* 11.134 (F5 W)

1. The sting ray spear was to fulfil the prophecy in *Odyssey* 11.134 that Odysseus' death would come "from the sea" (but often interpreted as "[away] from the sea"). A scholiast on the *Odyssey* verse says the spear was made by Hephaistos, see Appendix. Hyginus, *Fabulae* 127 adds that Telegonos was blown to Ithaka by a storm, and that Odysseus had received a prophecy to beware of his son (a trope most famously found in the story of Laios and Oedipus).

2. According to Hyginus, *Fabulae* 127, this was done on the instruction of Athene.

3. Quoted alongside lines from the *Odyssey*, but it is not a verbatim quote from that epic. It might be from the *Telegony*, or an adaptation of *Odyssey* 9.162.

4. The Scholiast doesn't mention his source, saying only that "Post-Homeric writers invented the story of Telegonos".

Primary Sources

Aelian, *Historical Miscellany* (3rd cn. AD) – A collection of historical and legendary anecdotes.

Aeschines, *Against Timarchus* (4th cn. BC) – A polemical speech by a greek statesman accusing his rival Timarchus of being unfit for public office.

Apollodorus, *Library* (1st to 2nd cn. AD) – A compendium of Greek myths. The author cites the *Little Iliad* and the *Returns*, and presumably used the other cyclic epics, although he brings in later material as well. His accounts of the Trojan war and returns are sometimes very similar to those of Proclus, so they may both have relied on an earlier prose summary.

Argument to Euripides, *Medea* (4th to 1st cn. BC?) – An introduction to Euripides' play *Medea* in some manuscripts, which quotes from the *Returns*. Possibly added in the Hellenistic era.

Aristophanes, *Knights*, *Lysistrata* (5th cn. BC) – Satirical plays, some of the scholia on them reference the epics (see Scholia/Scholiasts).

Aristotle, Poetics (4th cn. BC) – A philosophical work on literary theory.

Athenaeus, *Philosophers at Dinner* (Late 2nd to early 3rd cn. AD) – A dialogue in which learned men extensively discuss literature and culture, it references many works which are now lost.

Chrysippus, *On Negation* (3rd cn. BC) – A lost work by a stoic philosopher. The fragment which possibly quotes the *Cypria* is found in Papyrus Louvre 2326.

Clement of Alexandria, *Exhortation to the Greeks* (Late 2nd to early 3rd cn. AD) – A criticism of Greek paganism by a Christian theologian, he sometimes quotes Greek epics to make his points.

Clement of Alexandria, *Miscellanies* (Late 2nd to early 3rd cn. AD) – A collection of theological and scholarly essays on various subjects by a Christian theologian.

Diomedes, *The Art of Grammar* (4th cn. AD) – A Latin grammatical work which includes some valuable quotations of lost works.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities* (1st cn. BC) – A book of Roman history by a Greek writer.

Eusebius, *Chronicle* (Early 4th cn. AD) – A chronicle of world history written by a Christian bishop.

Eustathius, *Commentary on the Iliad/Odyssey* (12th cn. AD) – A commentary by a Byzantine scholar which preserves references to many lost works. His knowledge of the epic cycle was second hand via other sources.

Etymologicum Genuinum, Magnum, Gudianum (9th to 10th cn. AD) – Medieval encyclopedic dictionaries which drew on a multitude of earlier Greek language resources.

Herodian, *On Peculiar Words* (2nd cn. AD) – A book on the etymology and meaning of unusual Greek words and phrases.

Herodotus, *History* (5th cn. BC) – A history of the rise of the Persian empire and the Graeco-Persian wars, with many diversions about the geography and peoples of the Persian empire and neighbouring regions.

Hesychius, *Lexicon* (5th to 6th cn. AD) – An extensive vocabulary of Greek words and phrases by a late antique scholar.

Primary Sources

Horace, *Ars Poetica* (1st cn. BC) – A poem offering guidance on writing poetry. Horace advises against imitating the cyclic poets.

Naevius(?), *Cypria Ilias* (date unknown) – A lost Latin poem which may have been a translation of the *Cypria*. Only some quotes survive which attribute it to a 'Ninnius', usually corrected to 'Naevius'.

The *Odyssey* (8th to 7th cn. BC) – As well as telling the return of Odysseus, this epic has characters briefly describe the returns of the other Greeks, so it must have used existing traditions about them. The author(s) of the *Returns* were likely influenced by it, so it can be used to inform the reconstruction.

Papyrus Oxyrhynchus XIII 1611 (3rd cn. AD) – A fragmentary manuscript of an otherwise unknown grammatical work.

Pausanias, *Attic Words* (2nd cn. AD) – A vocabulary of dialect Greek words and phrases.

Pausanias, *Description of Greece* (2nd cn. AD) – A travelogue of Greece and its cities based on the eyewitness observations of the author, who often comments on art and local mythology.

Philodemus, *On Piety* (1st cn. BC) – A theological work by an Epicurean philosopher and poet, preserved only in fragmentary scrolls. Cited according to Dirk Obbink (1996).

Pindar, *Pythian* 11 (Early 5th cn. BC) – An ode to commemorate a victory at the athletic games at Delphi (Pytho), by the poet Pindar. He often made mythological references and apparently used the epics as sources.

Plato, *Euthyphro* (4th cn. BC) – A philosophical dialogue about piety.

Plutarch, *Moralia* (Late 1st to early 2nd cn. AD) – A collection of essays by a Roman-era Greek scholar.

Poculum Homericum *Megarischer Becher* 31 p. 97 Sinn (3rd to 2nd cn. BC) – A painted Greek vase depicting the Trojan allies fighting the Greeks, its caption references the *Little Iliad* as its source. Cited according to Sinn (1979).

Poculum Homericum, *Megarischer Becker* 36 p. 101 Sinn (3rd to 2nd cn. BC) – A decorated bowl depicting a scene from the death of Agamemnon, with three of his followers reclining at a feast being killed by two men who must be allies of Aigistheus. It caption references the *Returns* as its source. Cited according to Sinn (1979).

Porphyry, *Homeric Questions* (3rd cn. AD) – Fragmentary commentary on Homeric verses by a neoplatonist philosopher. Cited according to Herman Schräder (1880-2).

Proclus, *Chrestomathy* (2nd or 5th cn. AD?) – A lost work on literature containing summaries of the entire epic cycle. Its summary of the *Cypria* survives as a prologue in several manuscripts of the *Iliad*. The rest of the summaries survive as extracts in a single manuscript. His accounts of the Trojan war and returns are sometimes very similar to those of Apollodorus, suggesting they may have relied on pre-existing summaries The author has sometimes been identified as Eutychius Proclus (2nd century grammarian) or Proclus Lycius (5th century philosopher) but these remain controversial. Cited according to M.L. West (2003).

Pseudo-Demosthenes, *Funeral Oration* (4th cn. BC) – A speech attributed to the Athenian orator and statesman Demosthenes.

Pseudo-Herodotus, *Life of Homer* (3rd cn. BC to 4th cn. AD) – A biography written in the character of the historian Herodotus, but composed after his time. Its date is heavily debated.

Scholia/Scholiasts (variable dates) – Marginal notes in the manuscripts of classical texts, often taken from now-lost sources. For example, many of the *Iliad* scholia were extracted from scholarly writings ranging from pre-Alexandrian to Roman times (4th cn. BC to 5th cn. AD?)

Tabula Iliaca A [Capitolina] (Late 1st cn. BC) – A decorative slab with reliefs depicting the fall of Troy, citing the *Iliad*, *Aethiopis*, *Little Iliad*, and *Sack of Troy* as its sources. Page numbers refer to the reproductions in Sadurska (1964). Photographs are also available online.

Tzetzes, *On Lycophron* (12th cn. AD) – A commentary written by a Byzantine scholar to explain mythological references in the 3rd century BC poem *Alexandra* attributed to Lycophron of Chalcis. Its references to the epic cycle must have been taken from summaries and lost academic works, rather than the poems themselves.

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Glossary and Index of Names

Greeks in the expedition against Troy are marked with [G].

Trojan heroes, royalty, and allies are marked with [T].

Characters only mentioned as relatives (e.g. "son of X") or only in the list of Trojan allies (*Cypria* part N) are not included.

Aeth. = Aethiopis
Cyp. = Cypria
Ild. = Iliad
Lit.Il. = Little Iliad
Od. = Odyssey
Ret. = Returns
Sack = Sack of Troy
Tel. = Telegony

Achaians: another name for the Greeks; *Cyp.* M; *Aeth.* A, B, C; *Lit.Il.* A, C, D, G; *Sack* A, B

Achilles[G]: the greatest Greek warrior; son of Peleus king of Phthia and the nymph Thetis; killed by Alexander/ Paris with Apollo's aid; *Cyp.* C, G, I, J, K, L, M; *Ild.* A, B, C, D; *Aeth.* A, B, C; *Lit.Il.* A, C; *Sack* C; *Ret.* C; *Od.* E

Admetos[T]: a Trojan warrior, otherwise unknown; *Lit.Il.* F

Agamedes: a master builder; brother of Trophonios, with whom he built the oracle at Delphi; *Tel.* A

Agamemnon[G]: king of Mycenae; brother of Menelaos; husband of Klytaimnesta and father of Iphigeneia; leader of the Greek expedition to Troy; *Cyp.* G, J, K, M*; Ild.* C; *Lit.Il.* A; *Sack* C; *Ret.* A, C, F; *Od.* E

Agenor[T]: son of Antenor; in the *Iliad* he confronted Achilles but was saved by Apollo; *Lit.Il.* F

Aias[G] (son of Ileos): a.k.a. Lokrian Aias or Lesser Aias; prince of Lokris; during the sack of Troy he dishonoured Athene by dragging away Kassandra who was clinging to Athene's statue for protection; *Sack* C; *Ret.* C

Aias[G] (son of Telamon): a.k.a. Telamonian Aias or Greater Aias; prince of Salamis; Achilles' cousin; one of the greatest Greek warriors; commits suicide after losing Achilles' arms to Odysseus; *Ild.* A, B, C, D; *Aeth.* B, C; *Lit.Il.* A; *Od.* E

Aigisthos: cousin of Agamemnon who seduced his wife Klytaimnestra and murdered him together with her; *Ret.* F

Aineias[T]: a member of a junior branch of the Trojan royal family; son of Aphrodite; he was in charge of Priam's cattle along with Mestor; *Cyp.* D, J, M, N*; Ild.* A; *Lit.Il.* G; *Sack* A

Aiolos: king of the island of Aiolia; made guardian of the winds by Zeus; he previously helped the Argonauts; *Od.* D

Aison: father of Jason; the *Returns* told a version of his story in which he was restored to youth by Jason's wife Medeia, also found in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*; *Ret. H*

Aithra: the mother of Theseus, grandmother of Akamas and Demophon; she had been made Helen's handmaid by Kastor and Polydeukes, and accompanied her to Troy; Lit.Il. F; Sack C

Akamas[G]: son of Theseus; he arrived at Troy with his brother Demophon to find their grandmother Aithra who had been taken as Helen's handmaid; *Sack* C

Alkinous: king of the Phaiakians; *Od.* B

Alexander[T]: a.k.a. Paris; a prince of Troy, the son of Priam; he abducts Helen, causing the war; *Cyp.* D, E, F; *Ild.* A; *Aeth.* B; *Lit.Il.* B

Alkmeon[G]: one of Agamemnon's followers, otherwise unknown; *Ret.* F

Andromache[T]: wife of Hektor, mother of Astyanax; taken as a captive by Neoptolemos after the capture of Troy; *Ild.* A; *Lit.Il.* G; *Sack* C

Anios: king of Delos, an island in the Aegean; his daughters could miraculously produce food and drink; *Cyp.* M

Antiklos[G]: only known for being one of the heroes in the wooden horse; *Sack* B

Antilochos[G]: Nestor's eldest son; dies fighting Memnon; *Ild.* D; *Aeth.* B, C

Antiochos: one of the followers of Aigisthos, otherwise unknown; *Ret.* F

Aphidna: a city near Athens, in the region of Attika; *Cyp.* B

Aphrodite: goddess of love; wins the beauty contest with Hera and Athene; supports the Trojans; *Cyp.* D, E, M*; Ild.* A

Apollo: god of archery, disease, and oracles; brother of Artemis; supports the Trojans; *Cyp.* F, J, M*; Ild.* A; *Aeth.* A, B; *Sack* A; *Tel.* A

Ares: god of war; supports the Trojans; father of Penthesileia; *Cyp.* F; *Ild.* A; *Aeth.* A; *Tel.* A

Argeios: one of the followers of Aigisthos, otherwise unknown; Ret. F

Argos: a major city in southern Greece; the kingdom of Diomedes; *Cyp.* J

Ariadne: daughter of Minos king of Crete, she fell in love with Theseus and left with him, but was abandoned or abducted; *Cyp.* G

Arkesilaos: a.k.a. P(t)oliporthes; the second son Odysseus has with Penelope; *Tel.* A

Artemis: goddess of archery and hunting; sister of Apollo; *Cyp.* J, M; *Aeth.* A

Asklepios: a demigod son of Zeus whom Zeus killed for preventing the deaths of mortals and potentially ending mortality, he was nevertheless made the god of healing; *Ret.* H

Asteropaios[T]: a Trojan ally; one of the only heroes to wound Achilles; *Ild.* D

Astyanax[T]: a.k.a. Skamandros; the infant son of Hektor and Andromache; *Lit.Il.* G; *Sack* C

Astynous[T]: a Trojan killed in the *Little Iliad*, possibly a charioteer mentioned in the *Iliad*; a different Trojan Astynous was earlier killed by Diomedes; *Lit.Il.* F

Astyoche: wife of Telephos; mother of the Mysian Eurypylos; she sent her son to war after receiving a bribe; *Lit.Il.* C

Athene: goddess of wisdom and war; she mostly supports the Greeks, particularly Odysseus; *Cyp.* C, D; *Aeth.* C; *Lit.Il.* A, D, E; *Sack* A, C; *Ret.* A, C; *Od.* G, I; *Tel.* A

Attika: the region around Athens; *Ret.* A

Augeias: a king of Elis; best known for Herakles cleaning his stables; one of Jason's Argonauts; *Tel.* A

Aulis: a port in eastern Greece, used by the Greeks to gather their forces against Troy; *Cyp.* H, J, K

Axion[T]: a prince of Troy, son of Priam; *Lit.Il.* F

Balios: means 'dapple', an immortal horse given to Peleus by Poseidon; later used by Achilles in the *Iliad*; *Cyp.* C

Briseis: captured by Achilles from the town of Pedasos near Troy (or Lyrnessos in the *Iliad*), she becomes his concubine but is later taken by Agamemnon to replace his loss of Chryseis; *Cyp.* M; *Ild.* A, B, D

Brygi: a non-Greek people in the Balkans; *Tel.* A

Kalypso: a nymph, daughter of Atlas, she kept Odysseus with her for seven years on Ogygia; *Od.* A, B, F

Charybdis: a sea monster who sucked down ships with a whirlpool; *Od.* F

Cheiron: a wise centaur who was the tutor of many Greek heroes; *Cyp.* C

Chryseis: daughter of Chryses the priest of Apollo; she becomes Agamenon's concubine but is later returned to her father; *Cyp.* M*; Ild.* A

Chryses: priest of Apollo, father of Chryseis; he secures the return of his daughter from Agamemnon; *Ild.* A

Circe: a witch living on the island of Aiaia, a powerful enchantress; *Od.* D, E, F; *Tel.* B

Cyclopes: giant one-eyed men, their land is usually identified as Sicily; in the *Odyssey* they are pastoral savages; *Od.* C

Danaäns[G]: another name for the Greeks; *Lit.Il.* A, G

Dardania: another name for Troy and the surrounding area; *Lit.Il.* A

Dardanos[T]: an ancestor of the Trojan royal family, son of the star goddess Elektra; *Sack* B

Deidameia: daughter of Lykomedes king of Skyros; mother of Neoptomelos by Achilles; *Cyp.* I

Deinome[T]: a Trojan woman, otherwise unknown; *Lit.Il.* Appx

Deiphobos[T]: a prince of Troy, son of Priam; he was the favourite brother of Hektor; he married Helen after Alexander/Paris died; killed by Menelaos during the sack of Troy; *Lit.Il.* B; *Sack* B

Dektes: lends his ragged clothes to Odysseus for his disguise; possibly invented from a misinterpretation of *Odyssey* 4.248 "disguising himself in the likeness of somebody else, a beggar (*dektēs*)"; *Lit.Il.* D

Demophon[G]: son of Theseus; brother of Akamas; he and his brother arrived at Troy after the events of the Iliad in search of their grandmother Aithra; *Lit.Il.* F; *Sack* C

Diomedes[G]: king of Argos; before the Trojan war he took part in a successful war against Thebes; *Cyp.* M; *Ild.* A, B, C, D; *Aeth.* C; *Lit.Il.* B, D, F; *Ret.* A, Appx

Dionysos: god of drinking, revelry, and religious frenzy; *Cyp.* M

Dioskouroi: the collective name for Kastor and Polydeukes, the brothers of Helen; means 'sons of Zeus'; *Cyp.* B, F

Dolon[T]: a Trojan herald and spy; discovered and killed by Odysseus and Diomedes; *Ild.* B

Eëtion[T]: king of Hypoplacian Thebe; father of Andromache; brother of Iphinoe; *Cyp.* M

Eioneus[T]: a Trojan warrior, otherwise unknown; *Lit.Il.* F

Elais: daughter of king Anios of Delos; one of the 'Wine-Growers', she could miraculously create oil; *Cyp.* M

Elektra: one of the Pleiades (seven stars in the constellation Taurus), mother of Dardanos; she was associated with the Palladion falling from heaven and landing at Troy; not to be confused with Elektra, daughter of Agamemnon; *Sack* B

Elpenor[G]: one of Odysseus' men, he died of a fall from the roof of Circe's house; *Od.* E

Eos: goddess of dawn; mother of Memnon; *Aeth.* A

Epeios[G]: a champion boxer but a poor warrior; he was also a craftsman and made the wooden horse; *Ild.* D; *Lit.Il.* D

Epopeus: a king of Skyros who married the runaway daughter of Lykos, for which Lykos killed him; *Cyp.* G

Eris: personification of strife and discord, daughter of Night (*Nyx*) according to Hesiod; *Cyp.* D

Ethiopians[T]: people from the far reaches of the world, not necessarily modern Ethiopia; *Aeth.* B

Eumaios: Odysseus' faithful swineherd; *Od.* H, I

Eumelos[G]: king of Pherai; took part in the chariot race during the funeral games of both Patroklos and Achilles; *Aeth.* C

Euphorbos[T]: a Trojan hero; he wounds Patroklos before Hektor kills him; he is later killed by Menelaos; *Ild.* C

Eurylochos[G]: second in command of Odysseus' fleet and his relative; *Ody.* D

Eurypylos[G] (son of Euaimon): leader of the Greek contingent from Thessaly; *Ild.* C

Eurypylos[T] (son of Telephos): prince of Teuthrania; nephew of Priam; Priam bribed his mother to make him join the war; *Lit.Il.* C

Ganymede: son of Laomedon (of Tros in other versions), taken as a lover by Zeus; *Lit.Il.* C

Glaukos[T]: grandson of the hero Bellerophon, he lead the Lykian allies of Troy with his cousin Sarpedon; *Cyp.* N; *Ild.* A; *Aeth.* B

Graces: *Charites*, personifications of beauty and grace; *Cyp.* D

Hades: The underworld realm of the dead, and the name of the god who ruled it; *Ret.* H

Hekabe[T]: the wife of Priam; *Sack* C

Hektor[T]: the main Trojan hero, a prince of Troy, son of Priam; in the *Iliad* he becomes Achilles' sworn enemy after killing Patroklos; *Cyp.* L; *Ild.* A, B, C, D; *Aeth.* A; *Lit.Il.* G

Helen: in the *Cypria* she is the daughter of Zeus and Nemesis; her adoptive mortal parents are Tyndareus and his wife Leda, thus she is sister (or half- or step-sister) of Kastor, Polydeukes, and Klytaimnestra; *Cyp.* A, B, D, E, F, L, M; *Lit.Il.* B, D, F; *Sack* B

Helenos[T]: a Trojan prince and prophet; son of Priam; twin of Kassandra; brother of Paris; *Cyp.* D; *Lit.Il.* B, D, F; *Ret.* D

Helikaon[T]: son of Antenor, brother of Agenor; spared by Odysseus during the sack of Troy due to Antenor's hospitality; *Lit.Il.* F

Helios: the sun god; he kept cattle on the island of Thrinakia; *Od.* F

Hephaistos: the lame god of blacksmithing and craftsmanship; mostly sympathetic to the Greeks; *Cyp.* C; *Ild.* D; *Aeth.* C; *Lit.Il.* Appx

Hera: sister and wife of Zeus, goddess of marriage and women; supports the Greeks; *Cyp.* C, D, E; *Ret.* C

Herakles: demigod son of Zeus who performed many amazing feats; Hera cursed him with a spell of madness making him kill his wife and children; he sacked Troy when Priam's father Laomedon was king; *Cyp.* G; *Lit.Il.* B; *Od.* E

Hermes: god of communication and commerce; *Cyp.* D; *Od.* B

Hermione: Helen's daughter with Menelaos, in the *Odyssey* Helen laments abandoning her to run off with Paris; *Cyp.* E

Hermioneus: possibly a son of Menelaus or a supporter of Aigisthos, otherwise unknown; *Ret.* Appx

Hilareia: a priestess of Apollo, in some versions she is betrothed to Idas; *Cyp.* Appx

Hippolyte: queen of the Amazons; Herakles took her belt as his ninth labour; sometimes identified as the Amazon married by Theseus; accidentally killed by her sister Penthesileia; *Aeth.* A

Hypoplacian Thebe: an allied city south of Troy; ruled by Eëtion, father of Andromache; *Cyp.* M

Ida: a wooded mountain south-east of Troy; Paris grew up there before he was re-united with his family; *Cyp.* D, M

Idas: prince of Messenia, brother of Lynkeus, a relative of Kastor and Polydeukes; one of the Argonauts *Cyp.* F

Ilion: another name for Troy; (*Cyp.* A, F, G, L, Appx; *Lit.Il.* A, D, F; *Sack* B, C)

Iphigeneia: the eldest daughter of Agamemnon, destined to be a sacrifice to Artemis but saved at the last minute; *Cyp.* J

Iphinoe: a priestess at Hypoplacian Thebe; sister of Eëtion; aunt of Andromache; *Cyp.* M

Iphitos: a friend of young Odysseus, to whom he gave his bow; he was killed by Herakles; *Od.* I

Iris: goddess of rainbows and messenger of Hera; *Cyp.* G

Iros: a beggar who delivers messages for the suitors of Penelope; he challenges Odysseus who kills him in a boxing match; *Od.* H

Jason: son of Aison; leader of the Argonauts in his expedition to retrieve the golden fleece; married Medeia; *Ret.* H

Kalchas[G]: a seer who joined the Greek expedition and provided invaluable prophecies; *Cyp.* H, J; *Ret.* B

Kallidike: queen of Thesprotis; in later sources she is a widow; *Tel.* A

Kassandra[T]: a Trojan princess and prophetess, cursed to have no one believe her prophecies; daughter of Priam; twin of Helenos; sister of Paris; *Cyp.* D; *Lit.Il.* F; *Sack* A, C

Kastor: son of Tyndareus (or Zeus) and Leda(?), thus brother (or half- or step-brother) of Helen, Polydeukes, and Klytaimnesta; he was mortal while his brother Polydeukes was immortal, together called the Dioskouroi; *Cyp.* B, E, F

Katreus: maternal grandfather of Menelaos; *Cyp.* E

Kikones[T]**:** a people in Thrace; allies of Troy; *Od.* C

Kinyras: the wealthy king of Cyprus; *Cyp.* G

Klymene: daughter of the hero Minyas, who was the mythical founder of Orchomenos; she was usually thought to be the grandmother of Jason (of Golden Fleece fame); in the *Odyssey* she is also seen as a shade in Hades; *Ret.* H

Klytaimnestra: wife of Agamemnon; daughter of Tyndareus and Leda, thus sister (or half- or step-sister) of Helen, Kastor, and Polydeukes; *Cyp.* J; *Ret.* F

Koroibos[T]**:** son of Migdon king of Phrygia; he had come as an ally to Troy out of love for Kassandra; he is given a larger role in Virgil's *Aeneid*; *Lit.Il.* F

Kronos: a Titan; the father of Zeus, Demeter, Hera, Hades, and Poseidon; *Cyp.* B

Kyknos[T]**:** son of Poseidon; in later sources he is invulnerable to weapons, perhaps explaining why Achilles kills him with a stone; some sources say he is the father of Tenes who the Greeks fought on Tenedos; *Cyp.* L

Laertes: father of Odysseus; *Od.* A, I

Laistrygonians: a race of giant cannibals; they live in a city called Telepylos; *Od.* D

Lakedaimon: Another name for Sparta and the surrounding area; *Cyp.* E

Laokoön[T]**:** Trojan seer and their priest of Apollo; *Sack* A

Laomedon: father of Priam; the previous king of Troy; *Lit.Il.* C

Leda: wife of Tyndareus (king of Sparta), adoptive mother of Helen, mother (or step mother) of Kastor, Polydeukes, and Klytaimnesta; *Cyp.* B

Leonteus[G]**:** joint leader of the Lapiths from Argissa, along with Polypoites; *Ret.* B

Leto: a titaness; mother of Apollo and Artemis; *Aeth.* A

Lokrian Aias[G]**:** a.k.a Aias son of Ileos or Lesser Aias; prince of Lokris; during the sack of Troy he insulted Athene by dragging away Kassandra who clung to her statue for protection; *Sack* C; *Ret.* C

Lykomedes (king of Skyros): his daughter Deidameia married Achilles and had a son by him; *Cyp.* I; *Lit.Il.* C

Lykomedes[G] **(son of Creon):** a prince of Thebes; in the *Iliad* he is a minor hero; *Lit.Il.* F

Lykaon[T]: a prince of Troy, son of Priam; *Cyp.* M; *Ild.* D

Lykos: a previous king of Thebes, he killed Epopeus for marrying his runaway daughter (or niece); *Cyp.* G

Lynkeus: prince of Messenia, brother of Idas, a relative of Kastor and Polydeukes; one of the Argonauts *Cyp.* F

Lyrnessos: an allied city south of Troy; *Cyp.* M

Machaon[G]: a hero from Trikka; the son of Poseidon in the *Aethiopis*, but more usually son of Asklepios the god of healing; an accomplished doctor; *Ild.* C; *Aeth.* A, C; *Lit.Il.* B, C

Maira: great-grandaughter of Sisyphos, otherwise not a major figure; *Ret.* H

Maro: a Kikonian priest of Apollo who lived in a grove; *Od.* C

Medeia: Wife of Jason; she tricked the daughters of Jason's uncle Pelias into killing him by promising she would restore him to youh as she did Jason's father Aison; *Ret.* H

Megapenthes: son of Menelaos with a slave woman; *Ret.* G

Meges[G]**:** king of Doulichion; according to the *Odyssey* he drowned on the return from Troy; *Lit.Il.* F

Melanthios: Odysseus' goatherd, he was disployal and supported the suitors of Penelope; *Od.* H, I

Memnon[T]**:** son of the goddess Eos and the mortal Tithonous; leader of the Ethiopians; *Aeth.* B

Menelaos[G]: king of Sparta; brother of Agamemnon; husband of Helen; *Cyp.* E, G; *Ild.* A; *Lit.Il.* C, D, F; *Sack* B; *Ret.* A, G; *Od.* A, H

Menestheus[G]**:** king of Athens after Theseus, installed on the throne by Kastor and Polydeukes; *Sack* C

Mestor[G] (son of Aias): one of Agamemnon's followers, otherwise unknown; *Ret.* F

Mestor[T] (son of Priam): a Trojan prince; in charge of Priam's cattle along with Aineias; *Cyp.* M

Molossians: a people living in Epirus on the north-western edge of Greece; *Ret.* D

Momos: personification of blame and satire, son of Night (*Nyx*) according to Hesiod; *Cyp.* A

Mopsos: a renowned prophet; son of Apollo and Manto; grandson of the Theban prophet Teiresias; *Ret.* B

Muses: *Mousai*, goddesses who inspired the arts; *Aeth.* C

Myrmidons[G]: a clan of men created from ants (*myrmekes*) by Zeus, who became companions of Peleus and then his son Achilles; *Cyp.* L; *Ild.* C

Mysia: a region south of Troy; *Cyp*. I, J

Mysians[T]: a people living to the south of Troy who come to their aid as allies lead by Eurypylos; *Cyp.* I; *Lit.Il.* C

Nauplios: father of Palamedes who was killed by Odysseus and Diomedes at Troy, some versions say Agamemnon was involved; in later sources he he seeks revenge on the Greeks for the death of his son; *Ret*. F

Nausikaa: princess of the Phaiakians; *Od.* B

Nausimedon: a son of Nauplios, otherwise unknown; *Ret.* F

Nemesis: a goddess, the personification of retribution; *Cyp.* B

Neoptolemos: a.k.a. Pyrrhos, son of Achilles by Deidameia; after Achilles' death he arrived at Troy to take his father's place; *Cyp.* I; *Lit.Il.* B, C, F, G; *Sack* B, C; *Ret.* C, D

Nestor[G]: king of Pylos, the wise advisor to the Greek heroes; *Cyp.* G; *Lit.Il.* A; *Ret.* A; *Od.* A

Nymphs: minor female deities, usually associated with natural phenomena; *Cyp.* D; *Tel.* A

Odysseus[G]: king of Ithaka; husband of Penelope, father of Telemachos; known for his clever schemes; *Cyp.* G, J, K, M; *Ild.* B, C, D; *Aeth.* A, B, C; *Lit.Il.* A, B, C, D, E, F; *Sack* B, C; *Ret.* D; *Od.* all; *Tel.* all

Oedipus: a previous king of Thebes who unwittingly killed his father, married his mother, then cursed his sons; *Cyp.* G

Oiax: a son of Nauplios, otherwise unknown; *Ret*. F

Oino: daughter of king Anios of Delos; one of the 'Wine-Growers', she could miraculously create wine; *Cyp*. M

Orestes: son of Agamemnon and Klytaimnestra; kills Aigisthus and his mother to avenge his father's murder; *Ret.* F, G

Palamedes[G]: a hero from near Argos; son of Nauplios; forced Odysseus to join the war; later killed by Odysseus in revenge; *Cyp.* G, M; *Ret.* F

Palladion: a statue of Athene which fell from heaven and protected the city of Troy; *Lit.Il.* B, D; *Sack* B

Pandaros[T]: prince of Zeleia, near Troy; Athene tricks him into breaking a truce with the Greeks, he is killed by Diomedes; *Ild.* A

Paris[T]: a.k.a. Alexander; a prince of Troy, the son of Priam, brother of Hektor, Kassandra, Helenos, and others; he abducted Helen, causing the Trojan war; *Cyp.* D, E, F; *Ild.* A; *Aeth.* B; *Lit Il.* B

Patroklos[G]: cousin and war-companion of Achilles, they were commonly depicted as lovers; in the *Iliad* his death causes Achilles' rage against Hektor; *Cyp.* M; *Ild.* C, D

Pedasos: an allied city south of Troy; home of Bryseis, Achilles' concubine; *Cyp*. M

Peleus: king of Phthia who marries the nymph Thetis; father of Achilles; previously one of Jason's Argonauts; *Cyp.* C, D; *Lit.Il.* A, C; *Ret.* D

Pelion: a mountain in eastern Greece; north-east of Phthia the land of Achilles' father Peleus; *Cyp.* C

Pelops, isle of: the Peloponnese, the large peninsula of southern Greece; Pelops was an early ruler of the region which was named after him, he was an ancestor of Agamemnon and Menelaos: *Cyp.* F

Penelope: wife of Odysseus, mother of Telemachos; *Cyp.* G; *Od.* A, H, I; *Tel*. A, B

Penthesileia[T]: an Amazon, daughter of Ares; inadvertantly killed her sister Hippolyte, the Amazon queen; *Aeth.* A

Phaiakians: a prosperous people encountered by Odysseus; their land has been identified as Corfu or an Atlantic island; *Od.* B, G

Phereklos: shipbuilder favoured by Athene; he was later killed by Agamemnon in the *Iliad*; *Cyp.* D

Phidnos: king of Aphidna, a city near Athens, where Theseus left Helen after kidnapping her; *Cyp.* B

Philoitios: Odysseus' loyal cowherd; *Od.* H, I

Philoktetes[G]: king of Malis; Herakles gave him his bow as thanks for lighting his funeral pyre; *Cyp.* K; *Lit.Il.* B, F

Philyra: wife of Nauplios; mother of his three sons Palamedes, Oiax, and Nausimedon; *Ret*. F

Phoinix[G]: Achilles' childhood tutor who accompanied him to Troy; *Cyp.* I; *Ild.* B; *Lit.Il.* C; *Ret.* D

Phoibe: a priestess of Apollo, in some versions she is betrothed to Lynkeus; *Cyp*. Appx

Phorkys: a sea god; grandfather of the cyclops Polyphemos, and father of the monster Skylla; *Tel.* Appx

Podalirios[G]: a hero from Tricca; brother of Machaon and, like him, a skilled doctor; *Aeth.* C

Poliporthes: a.k.a. Arkesilaos; the second son Odysseus has with Penelope; also spelled Ptoliporthes; *Tel.* A

Polydeukes: son of Leda(?) and Zeus (and symbolically of Ares), thus the brother (or half- or step-brother) of Kastor, Helen, and Klytaimnestra; he was immortal while his brother Kastor was mortal; together they were called the Dioskouroi; *Cyp.* E, F

Polydora: wife of Protesilaos, the first Greek to die at Troy; stories were inspired by her grief for her husband; C*yp.* L

Polyphemos: a cyclops; son of Poseidon; blinded by Odysseus; *Od.* C

Polypoites[G]: joint leader of the Lapiths from Argissa, along with Leonteus; *Ret.* B

Polypoites (son of Odysseus): the son Odysseus has with Kallidike, and left him behind to inherit Thesprotis; *Tel.* A

Polyporthes: a.k.a. Arkesilaos; the second son Odysseus has with Penelope; also spelled Ptoliporthes; *Tel.* A

Polyxene[T]: a princess of Troy known for her beauty; daughter of Priam; in some versions the ghost of Achilles requested her as a sacrifice; *Sack* C

Polyxenos[G]: a leader from Epirus; grandson of Augeias; *Tel.* A

Poseidon: god of the seas and rivers; supports the Greeks; *Cyp.* C; *Ret.* C; *Od.* C, E, G; *Tel.* A

Priam[T]: the elderly king of Troy; father of Alexander/Paris, Kassandra, Hektor, Helenos, Lykaon, Mestor, and Troilos; *Cyp.* M; *Ild.* D; *Aeth.* A; *Lit.Il.* C, F; *Sack* B

Protesilaos[G]: a hero from Phylake; a prophecy said the first Greek to land at Troy would die, and he did so, earning his name which means ‘first of men’; *Cyp.* L; *Ild.* C

Pylades: son of Strophius; he helps Orestes take revenge on Aigisthus and Klytaimnestra; *Ret.* F

Pyrrhos: a.k.a Neoptolemos, son of Achilles by Deidameia; after Achilles’ death he arrived at Troy to take his father’s place; *Cyp.* I

Rhesos[T]: a king of Thrace; comes to aid the Trojans but is killed by Diomedes and Odysseus; *Ild.* B

Sarpedon[T]: grandson of the hero Bellerophon; leader of the Lykians along with his cousin Glaukos; *Cyp.* N; *Ild.* C

Seasons: *Horai,* personifications of the seasons and natural periods of time; *Cyp.* D

Sidon: a Phoenecian city on the east Mediterranean coast, in modern-day Lebanon; *Cyp.* E

Sinon[G]: only known for signalling to the Greek fleet after the wooden horse was brought into Troy; *Lit.Il.* E, F; *Sack* B

Sisyphos: famous for being punished by Zeus to endlessly roll a boulder up a hill in Hades; *Ret.* H

Skamander: a prominent river near Troy, protected by its river spirit; *Ild.* D

Skylla: a multi-headed monster; later art depicts her with a woman’s torso, six dog’s forequarters at her waist, and a fish’s tail; *Od.* F

Skyros: an island in the Aegean Sea, between Greece and Troy; *Cyp*. I

Spermo: daughter of king Anios of Delos; one of the ‘Wine-Growers’, she could miraculously create grain; *Cyp*. M

Talthybios[G]: the herald of Agamemnon, he was later sent to take Briseis from Achilles in the *Iliad*; *Cyp.* G, J

Tantalos: famous for his punishment in Hades, in the *Returns* he is punished for asking for a life like the gods; *Ret.* H

Taurians: a people living in the Crimean peninsular on the Black Sea; *Cyp.* J

Taygetos: a large mountain in the south of the Peloponnese (see Pelops, isle of); *Cyp.* F

Teiresias: a deceased Theban prophet; previously played a role in the Theban wars; *Od.* E; *Tel.* A

Telegonos: son of Odysseus and Circe; *Tel*. B

Telemachos: the son of Odysseus; a child during the *Cypria,* years later he searched for his father in the *Odyssey*; *Cyp.* G; *Od.* A, H, I; *Tel.* B

Telephos: a son of Herakles who was exposed as a baby but returned to Teuthrania in Mysia to inherit his kingdom; father of Eurypylos; *Cyp.* G, J; *Lit.Il.* C

Tenedos: an island west of Troy; the Greeks use it as a temporary base for their fleet several times; *Cyp*. K; *Lit.Il*. E, F; *Sack* B; *Ret*. D

Teukros[G]: a prince of Salamis; a great archer, in the Iliad he fought alongside Aias son of Telamon; *Aeth.* C

Teuthrania: a city and its surrounding hinterland in Mysia, south of Troy; named for Tethras, its king before Telephos; *Cyp*. I

Thebe: an allied city south of Troy; ruled by Eëtion, father of Andromache; *Cyp*. M

Themis: a titaness, the personification of order, one of Zeus’ wives; *Cyp.* A

Thersander[G]: grandson of Oedipus, he lead an expedition against Thebes before joining the Trojan war; *Cyp.* I

Thersites[G]: an ugly Greek warrior who insults Agamemnon in the *Iliad* and Achilles in the *Aethiopis*; *Aeth.* A

Theseus: a previous king of Athens, he killed the Minotaur in the Labyrinth and married Ariadne, who was snatched away from him by Dionysos, or in some versions he abandoned her; he also kidnapped Helen to marry her but she was rescued by her brothers Kastor and Polydeukes; *Cyp.* B, F, G; *Lit.Il.* F; *Sack* C

Thetis: shape-shifting sea nymph; wife of Peleus; mother of Achilles; she was raised by Hera; *Cyp.* A, C, M; *Ild*. D; *Aeth.* B, C; *Ret.* C, D

Thoas[G]: king of Aetolia; he gives Odysseus a wound as part of his disguise as a beggar; *Lit.Il.* D

Troilos[T]: a young prince of Troy, son of Priam; depicted as a charioteer or horse rider; *Cyp.* M

Trophonios: a master builder; brother of Agamedes, with whom he built the oracle at Delphi; *Tel.* A

Tyndareus: the previous king of Sparta; adoptive father of Helen, father of Kastor(?), step-father of Polydeukes(?); *Cyp.* E

Wine-Growers: *Oinotropoi*; Elais, Oino, and Spermo; daughters of king Anios of Delos, granted the miraculous power to create food and drink; their names reflected which footstuff they could conjur; *Cyp.* M

Xanthos: means ‘bay’, an immortal horse given to Peleus by Poseidon; later used by Achilles in the *Iliad*; *Cyp.* C

Zeus: king of the gods and god of storms; husband of Hera; father of Helen (and Polydeukes?); *Cyp.* A, B, C, D, F, H, M, N, Appx; *Aeth.* B; *Lit.Il.* F, Appx; *Sack* B; *Ret.* C, H; *Od.* F, I